

UN Expected To OK Annexation Of Timor

by Josefa Nata

Indonesia is confident of having a formal yes from the United Nation for the annexation of East Timor as its 27th province at the end of the year. The country's Foreign Affairs Minister, Mochtar Kusuma-atmaja, recently completed a five-nation island hopping trip in the South Pacific. His mission was to ensure that traditional support from Fiji, Solomon Island and New Zealand did not waver.

"Countries are realizing now that they have been hoodwinked on the East Timor issue," claimed the former university professor who will be

remembered as the man who conceived the archipelagic concept of the Law of the Sea Convention.

"That is why more and more people are supporting us when the East Timor issue is voted each year. Most countries have for many years been misinformed and are only given half truths."

Indonesia, Mochtar claimed, had been a victim of misinformation and propagandists who conveniently chose to ignore the role Portugal played in East Timor as its former colonial master.

"We have become the big bad guy while Portugal got away with it. The whole thing has become politicized. You don't just get rid of a colony (a particular reference to Portugal's decision in 1974 to dump East Timor as a colony)."

In the last vote on East Timor in the United Nation in November, 1982, Indonesia lost by a mere four votes. But Mochtar claimed the margin should have been two because the Comorros and Barbados, two traditional supporters, were not present at the vital moment. Both have since written to the UN Secretary General confirming their support.

Mochtar Kusuma-atmaja



PHOTO BY JOSEFA NATA

AUSTRALIAN

1/9/83

Concern over Timor troop build-up

By MARSALI MacKINNON

THE Federal Government is investigating reports of arrests and a build-up of troops in the East Timorese capital of Dili which could severely strain Australia's relations with Indonesia.

Government sources last night said the reports of escalating military activity in Timor were most unwelcome, and could pose an embarrassing problem in the light of moves by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, towards closer ties with Indonesia.

The reports came second-hand from East Timor to Northern Territory Labor Senator Ted Robertson, who told the ABC radio program

PM last night he had called on the Foreign Minister to investigate the information.

"I regard the reports as reliable," Senator Robertson said.

An all-parliamentary delegation of MPs, headed by senior Labor MP Mr Bill Morrison, which visited East Timor in July, found no evidence of mistreatment of the Timorese by Indonesian troops or officials.

Mr Morrison is believed to have recommended to Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden that Australia not support a proposed United Nations resolution calling on Indonesia to grant East Timor independence.

Senator Robertson's claims

also come at a time when the left-wing opposition to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor has died down because of its failure to gain support for its moves in Caucus.

"The reports which came to me suggested that there has been a buildup of troops in both Dili and Baucau (a centre in the north of the island).

"In addition to that, the reports said there had been a number of arrests yesterday, and that these people had been sent to ... a prison island," he said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the Australian Embassy in Jakarta had been asked to investigate the reports, and "we will await their advice".

More troops in E Timor: ALP Senator

JAKARTA, 31 Aug. — Indonesian military authorities were unavailable for comment on an Australian report of a military build-up in East Timor, possibly in preparation for an attack on the Fretilin independence movement.

The Northern Territory Labor MP, Senator Ted Robertson, was reported from Darwin as saying he had received reliable reports of a build-up of troops, tanks and helicopters in East Timor.

Indonesian defence and security officials who usually comment on East Timor military developments were unavailable to AAP and other foreign media here tonight. Their staffs said they were either at meetings or simply "not in".

Last month, Indonesia's armed forces commander, General Benny Murdani, warned Fretilin rebels they would be attacked "without mercy" if they refused to accept a Government amnesty offer.

—AAP.

Canberra Times
11/9/83

THE

Build-up of Timor arms reported

DARWIN: Reliable reports had been received of a build-up of Indonesian troops and military equipment in East Timor, Senator Robertson (Lab, NT) said yesterday.

He feared Indonesian military authorities were gearing up for an all-out attack on Fretilin, the revolutionary front for an independent East Timor.

Senator Robertson said he had received reports on Tuesday that there had been a build-up of tanks in Dili and helicopters in Bacau, and that there were reports of troops and arrests in those centres.

Senator Robertson said grave fears had been expressed in Australia at recent remarks attributed to the Indonesian supreme commander, General Benny Murdani, that unless Fretilin accepted a so-called amnesty it would be attacked without mercy.

Senator Robertson sent a telegram to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, yesterday, requesting an urgent investigation of the situation. He asked that if Mr Hayden found the reports to be correct he should use his good standing with the Indonesians to prevent further bloodshed.

JAKARTA, Wednesday (AAP). — Indonesian military authorities were unavailable for comment on an Australian report of a military build-up in East Timor.

Senator warns of Timor troop build-up

DARWIN. — Reliable reports had been received of a build-up of Indonesian troops and military equipment in East Timor, Senator Ted Robertson (Labor, Northern Territory) said yesterday.

He said he feared Indonesian military authorities were gearing up for an all-out attack on Fretilin, the revolutionary front for an independent East Timor.

Senator Robertson said he had received reports that there had been a build-up of tanks in Dili and of helicopters in Bacau. Substantial numbers of troops had

also been reported in both centres.

He said he had also been told that an indeterminate number of people had been arrested in the centres yesterday and sent to the prison island of Atauro.

“I don’t want to be associated with Fretilin — I have my own views on what should happen in East Timor — but I don’t like the thought of people being killed,” he said.

Senator Robertson recalled recent remarks attributed to the Indonesian Supreme Commander, General Benny Murdani.

“In the middle of August General Murdani said that unless Fretilin accepted a so-called amnesty, they would be attacked without mercy,” Senator Robertson said.

He sent a telex to the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, yesterday which requested an urgent investigation of the situation in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said last night that the telex had reached

Mr Hayden’s office after the minister had left to travel to his home in Queensland yesterday.

The spokesman added: “Meanwhile, inquiries will be made through our embassy in Jakarta.

In Jakarta, Indonesian military authorities had nothing to say on Senator Robertson’s claims.

Indonesian defence and security officials who usually comment on East Timor military developments were unavailable to the foreign media last night. Their staffs said they were either at meetings or simply “not in.”

Indonesia denies big Timor troop buildup

MERCURY

2/9/83 p. 7.

JAKARTA, Thurs. — Indonesia troops had “strengthened” operations against East Timorese Fretilin rebels following an uprising last month but there was no large military buildup as reported from Australia, a senior military source said.

However, the source confirmed that the uprising reported earlier on a farming settlement and the unspecified security operations that followed had interrupted an unofficial truce between Fretilin and the military that began in March.

On August 8, about 30 farmers and members of the Unarmed Civil Guard (HANSIP), all former Fretilin rebels, snatched weapons from a 16-man army construction garrison, killed or wounded most of them, and fled to the hills, said the source.

“Some reinforcements” and “possibly extra helicopters” had been sent to East Timor to supplement the four battalions totalling about 3,000 troops based permanently in East Timor, he said, but reports of up to 20,000 troops and a buildup of tanks and helicopters were greatly exaggerated.

Yesterday, Northern Territory Labor Senator Roberston said in Darwin he had reliable reports of a buildup of tanks in the East Timor capital, Dili, and of helicopters in Baucau on the North Coast as well as substantial troop numbers in both centres.

Radio Australia today reported 20,000 troops were involved.

The senior military source, who asked not to be identified, said the security operations were sparked by the August 8 uprising.

He was not aware of any final military push against Fretilin, nor could he say exactly how many extra troops or helicopters and other equipment had been sent, but it was “not not a large buildup”.

Western observers here had speculated on an all-out assault on Fretilin since armed forces commander Benny Murdani last month threatened to attack the rebels “without mercy” if they did not surrender.

Well-informed diplomatic sources said they had no reason to believe there had been a

major military buildup in East Timor, but it was likely that Indonesia had stepped up military action after the August 8 uprising and subsequent but unspecified Fretilin attacks.

They said they understood the uprising was not spontaneous as military sources had originally claimed but was instigated by Fretilin outside the farming settlement in breach of the unofficial truce.

Since then, there had been other incidents, but none of them on a large scale as far as they were aware, they said.

The truce was agreed to last March between Fretilin leader Jose Gusmao and East Timor’s Governor Mario Carrascalao.

Military and diplomatic sources could not say whether the “operations” were against Fretilin units, estimated here at few more than a hundred armed men, or against the rebels who fled the farming settlement on August 8. They were not aware of major battles or casualties.

One diplomatic observer said Fretilin traditionally stepped up attacks before the annual United Nations vote on a resolution calling for East Timorese independence.

Indonesia currently is lobbying several nations including Australia to vote against this year’s resolution, expected to be debated next month. Last year the resolution was carried 50 votes to 46.

Indonesia incorporated East Timor as its 27th province after intervening militarily in the 1975 civil war that followed Portugal’s attempts to decolonise the territory.

Since then, Fretilin has waged an increasingly ineffective hit-and-run guerilla war.

A five-man Australian parliamentary delegation which visited East Timor in July said the authorities appeared to be “firmly in control”.

The delegation’s report, expected to be tabled in Parliament within weeks, could determine whether the Hawke Government adheres to ALP policy of supporting East Timorese self-sovereignty or follows the former Fraser Government in supporting Indonesia’s claim to the territory.

APC 7/19 Indonesians deny build-up

JAKARTA, 1 Sept. — Indonesian troops had strengthened operations against East Timorese Fretilin rebels following an uprising last month but there was no large military build-up as reported from Australia, a senior military source has said.

Indonesia sets out to crush Timor resistance

From ISABELLE RECKEWEG in Jakarta

INDONESIA'S armed forces have launched the biggest offensive in four years against guerillas fighting for the independence of East Timor, a diplomat said yesterday.

Government officials declined to confirm the report, but the head of the armed forces, General Benny Murdani, has warned "there will be no mercy this time" for Fretilin guerillas who do not accept a government amnesty and surrender.

"The armed forces will use any means in its possession in a cleaning-up operation to wipe out the remaining Fretilin rebels," General Murdani said earlier this month.

The diplomat, who declined to be named, said as many as 20,000 troops were taking part in the operation in the former Portuguese colony, annexed by Jakarta in 1976.

"The operation was launched on August 8, and 16 Fretilin members were killed on the first day of the attack," the diplomat said.

Indonesian officials have estimated at "a few hundreds" the number of guerillas who have been hiding in the arid mountains of the island since the last large-scale Indonesian campaign late in 1978 and early 1979, when Fretilin's leader, Nicolao Lobato, was killed. Other sour-

ces estimate the number at 2000 heavily armed guerillas.

The reported offensive comes just two months before the United Nations is scheduled to discuss the status of East Timor.

The UN however, is unlikely to influence Jakarta's stand.

"I cannot let the unity of the country be destroyed," General Murdani said when warning of the planned military operation.

Fretilin has repeatedly rejected the amnesty offer, claiming it fails to guarantee the freedom and safety of the guerillas.

Indonesia normally has no more than 5000 troops in East Timor, the eastern half of Timor island, about 600km north of Australia.

Two Fretilin members who spoke to an Australian parliamentary delegation visiting East Timor last month have since disappeared, the diplomat said.

The Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, held talks earlier this year with Fretilin members in a bid to persuade them to surrender.

East Timor was under Portuguese colonial rule for four centuries, while West Timor was under Dutch rule, like the other islands of the archipelago, until Indonesia's independence in 1945.

United Press International

Indonesia asked to show restraint ^{S.M.H. 2/9/83}

Timor worries Hayden

From DEBORAH HOPE and
PAUL KELLY

CANBERRA. — Australia will express its concern to the Indonesian Government over reports of a new build-up of Indonesian troops and military equipment in East Timor, accompanied by civilian arrests.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr Hayden, telexed Australia's Ambassador to Jakarta, Mr Dalrymple, at midday yesterday, asking him to urge the Indonesian Government to practise restraint, "so that the process of peaceful contact can be given a chance to succeed."

A virtual cease-fire has operated in East Timor since March, following peaceful contacts between the Indonesian authorities and leaders of Fretilin, the organisation which is seeking an independent Timor.

A senior military source in Jakarta told Australian Associated

Press yesterday that Indonesian troops had "strengthened" operations against Fretilin, but there was no large military build-up.

It seems clear from the prompt reaction of Mr Hayden that if the reports of a major build-up are correct then a new strain will enter Australian-Indonesian relations.

Any significant troop build-up will make it politically impossible for Australia to support Indonesia in any United Nations' vote on East Timor later this year ... a vote designed to ratify the Indonesian incorporation of the area.

Mr Hayden was concerned yesterday that the reported build-up was in response to an incident on August 8, in which about 30 former Fretilin villagers were said to have attacked and killed 12-15 Indonesian soldiers in central East Timor.

This was the first major incident since the instigation of the cease-fire.

Mr Hayden's concern followed press and radio reports yesterday that Indonesia had increased its force in Timor to about 20,000.

Senator Ted Robertson (Lab, NT) telexed Mr Hayden on Tuesday with a claim of a new build-up, and requested an urgent investigation of the East Timor situation.

Mr Hayden did not receive the message until yesterday morning, accompanied by press reports of Senator Robertson's claims.

This was supplemented by a Radio Australia news report yesterday morning, which quoted the troop build-up in East Timor as 20,000.

Radio Australia attributed its report to diplomatic sources.

AAP's military source said some reinforcements and "possibly extra helicopters" had been sent to East Timor to supplement the four battalions totalling about 3,000 troops based permanently there.

HAYDEN WARNS JAKARTA

By *DEBORAH SNOW*

IN a bid to avert a new crisis within the Labor Party over East Timor, the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hayden, has issued his strongest statement on the issue, warning the Indonesians that they must exercise restraint.

In a blunt statement released in Canberra yesterday, Mr Hayden warned: "Any resumption of hostilities can only add to the human misery and suffering in East Timor and would represent a step backwards in the search for lasting peace.

"The Australian Government urges restraint so that the process of peaceful contact can be given a chance to succeed."

Mr Hayden's public warning to the Jakarta regime is a notable departure from the

low key and conciliatory line which both he and Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, have so far publicly pursued on the issue.

The statement has been prompted by two developments: press reports of a military build-up in Indonesia aimed at crushing the remnants of the pro-independence Fretilin movement, and a telegram from Senator Ted Robertson (Lab, Northern Territory) on Wednesday.

Senator Robertson said he had received reliable reports of a new and significant build-up of Indonesian troops and military equipment in East Timor.

(Darwin is a prominent Fretilin contact point because of numbers of East Timorese refugees settled there).

Senator Robertson said he had no wish "to be associated with Fretilin" but "I don't like the thought of people being killed."

He pressed Mr Hayden to seek an urgent investigation of the situation in the territory annexed militarily by Indonesia in the late 1975.

Mr Hayden is in Ipswich until Parliament resumes on Tuesday and did not receive the telex until yesterday morning.

He has sought an urgent report from the Australian Ambassador in Jakarta, Mr Rawdon Dalrymple, and has also instructed that his concern be conveyed to the Indonesian Government.

Mr Hayden's statement referred to "reports that a new build-up of Indonesian troops and military equipment was taking place in East Timor and that this was being accompanied by civilian arrests."

Yet Australian authorities are not yet clear on what exactly is taking place in the territory.

An unofficial truce has reportedly existed between In-

donesian troops and Fretilin for some months, but this was interrupted on August 8 when villagers in a farming settlement (who were reported to be ex-Fretilin) attacked and killed about a dozen Indonesian troops.

Then in mid-August the Indonesian military commander, General Benny Murdani, was quoted as saying that unless Fretilin accepted an "amnesty" with the Indonesian Government, there would be an attack without mercy.

Some reports this week have put as high as 20,000 the number of troops being deployed by Jakarta to East Timor.

But the only official Australian media representative in Jakarta, AAP's Leigh McKay, quoted an Indonesian military source yesterday saying that Indonesia had simply sent "some reinforcements" to the four battalions now in the territory (which total about 3,000 troops).

Jakarta denies big ^{SMH 319} E Timor build-up

By PETER HASTINGS,
Foreign Editor

Indonesia's Foreign Ministry has noted the Australian Government's concern that Indonesia might launch a new anti-Fretilin campaign after Fretilin sympathisers killed 13 Indonesian soldiers on August 8, Jakarta sources said last night.

They denied any undue increase in troop strength in East Timor.

"It is understood that the Australian Government does not want to be embarrassed by any large-scale action against Fretilin when Mr Morrison is about to deliver to Parliament the report of the

Australian parliamentary delegation visit to East Timor," the source said.

Mr Morrison is expected to table the report in Parliament on Tuesday.

"But Australians should understand Fretilin's motive for the August 8 attack. It is to show to the world that Fretilin is a viable force. It tries to do this every year by one attack or another just before the UN vote on East Timor comes up in the General Assembly. Fretilin hopes people will believe Indonesia is not in control in East Timor. The Australian parliamentary delegation knows better than this."

Some of the soldiers killed were Timorese members of the Indonesian Army.

The Defence Force commander, Lieutenant-General Benny Moerdani, has foreshadowed a return to a hard-line policy if weapon-carrying members of the Fretilin, thought to number between 200 and 400, do not accept the Government's offer of amnesty.

A virtual cease-fire has operated in East Timor since January, due mainly to the efforts of the Timorese Governor, Dr Mario Carascallao, in seeking out Fretilin leaders in the bush to discuss amnesty terms and the offer of safe conduct.

Dr Carascallao has had the full support of General Moerdani in pursuing his new conciliatory

policy, which until the August 8 incident seemed highly successful.

Fretilin members were permitted to visit villages, centres and larger towns to see relatives, buy goods and watch soccer matches without being pursued. They were permitted to visit Dili on occasions. The tacit understanding at all times was that they must not carry arms.

Indonesian Government sources said that the Fretilin killings placed the Government in a dilemma. While there was no build-up of forces in East Timor, anti-Fretilin operations had been strengthened of necessity.

Indonesian troops and police in East Timor total about 9,000, including two battalions of Timorese.

Indons tighten Timor secrecy

JAKARTA, 2 Sept. — The Indonesian military has clamped a tight security lid on the nature and extent of renewed hostilities between the army and Fretilin guerillas in East Timor.

Diplomatic officials said army operations launched following a reported uprising on 8 August were continuing, but gave no details.

Neither the military nor local media have publicly disclosed the uprising or subsequent anti-Fretilin operations.

The uprising was probably not "spontaneous" as the military initially claimed.

It was more likely instigated by Fretilin as the first of a series of operations to attract world attention before the next month's expected United Nations vote on East Timorese self-sovereignty.

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Timor's troubles

SIR: In your newspaper many things have been written about East Timor and the struggle of its people for independence. Most of your articles, while providing some information and facts, have not entirely reflected the needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people.

It is hard for us to remain silent when our country and our people are being destroyed day in and day out. We have read reports about "development projects" carried out by Indonesian authorities in East Timor.

Do those apologists for the Indonesian invasion expect East Timorese to be happy with these "development projects" when their lives are always threatened and 200,000 Timorese have died?

Indonesian supporters speak about asphalted roads in East Timor as a sign of progress, but the ordinary people from the villages do not use the roads; they prefer to walk barefoot on cooler paths. The only purpose for roads in East Timor today is to help the Indonesians in their trucks and tanks to travel to kill our people.

Newspaper articles say the Indonesians are building schools and introducing TV to East Timor. But TV and schools are only the tools used to force the East Timorese to accept the foreign Indonesian culture and their annexation of the country. Whatever the Indonesian occupiers do, Timorese people will never agree to integration into Indonesia. They will always see the Indonesians as murderers of their loved ones and foreigners.

A. E. De Almeida,
Sandal Crescent,
Carramar.

September 1

Hawke urged to follow party's Timor policy

The Age 5/9/83

The recent Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor had been completely discredited following threats of a renewed Indonesian offensive in East Timor, a spokesman for the ALP East Timor Support Group, Dr George Preston, said yesterday.

Dr Preston said reports last week that the Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces, General Benny Murdani, had threatened to hit Fretilin guerilla forces without mercy, confirmed Fretilin claims that the Indonesians were about to attack.

"It also confirms the actual strength of Fretilin," he said. "You obviously don't launch a

campaign against an insignificant number of people, and it's certainly significant in terms of what's happening in East Timor, because it signals the abandonment of the hearts-and-minds campaign which was attempted to be sold to the parliamentary delegation when they went there."

Speaking on the ALP '83 Show on 3KZ last night, Dr Preston said in that light the Australian delegation's visit was revealed as a farce and a cynical public relations exercise.

The Government had been shown to be on completely the wrong track, he said. "It's really a continuation of what Mr Fraser

was doing — the public position being one of having quiet diplomacy with the Indonesians and emphasising good relations and so on."

He said the Hawke Government should respond by implementing ALP policy. It should stop military aid and deliver a protest to the Indonesian Government, while publicly urging it to start withdrawing from East Timor, and raising the issue as a matter of urgency at the United Nations.

Dr Preston said he had found strong branch-level support for implementing ALP policy on East Timor.

Army moves in Timor

JAKARTA, Sunday. — There has been an increase in Indonesian military activity in East Timor during the past month, diplomats said yesterday. Government forces stepped up activities following a clash early last month between a small army construction unit and a handful of former guerillas from the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor. The extent of the increase in military activities was unclear but it was continuing, they said. — Reuter.

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EAST TIMOR

Moves against Fretilin rise, diplomats say

JAKARTA, Sunday (AAP-Reuter). — There has been an increase in Indonesian military activity in East Timor during the past month, according to diplomatic sources in Jakarta.

They said that government forces had stepped up activities after a clash early last month between a small army construction unit and a handful of former Fretilin guerillas.

The extent of the increase in military activities was unclear but it was continuing.

There were few details about the clash but the sources said that afterwards the former Fretilin members had fled with weapons, possibly to rejoin the guerilla group.

"An operation was launched to find the men involved in the clash; whether there have been any engagements with Fretilin as a result I can't say," one diplomat said.

Last week an Indonesian military spokesman declined to comment on a statement made by Australian Senator Robertson (Lab, NT) that Indonesia was building up its forces in East Timor.

The diplomatic sources said they doubted there was a big military build-up and estimated government combat troops in East Timor at about 3,000.

The reported increase in military activity followed a statement two weeks ago by the commander of Indonesia's armed forces, General Benny Murdani, that remnants of Fretilin still holding out in the East Timor jungles would be wiped out if they ignored a call to surrender.

Action in Timor rising: diplomats

JAKARTA, 4 Sept. — Diplomats here yesterday confirmed reports that Indonesian military activity in East Timor had increased during the past month.

They said Government forces stepped up activities following a clash early last month between a small army construction unit and a handful of former Fretilin guerillas.

The extent of the increase in military activities was unclear but it was continuing, the diplomats said.

Only scant details were available about the clash. The sources said that after the incident the former Fretilin members fled with weapons, possibly

to rejoin the guerilla group whose forces are estimated at 1000 with just 100 firearms among them.

Earlier last week an Indonesian military spokesman declined to comment on a statement made by the Australian Labor Party Senator Ted Robertson that Indonesia was building up its forces in East Timor.

The reported increase in military activity followed a statement two weeks ago by the commander of Indonesia's armed forces, General Benny Murdani, that remnants of Fretilin still holding out in the Timor jungles would be wiped out if they ignored a call to surrender.

'A-E' 5/9/83 — AAP-Reuter

Hayden doubts ^{Age 6/19} reports of big troop build-up

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, yesterday threw doubt on reports that Indonesia had put up to 20,000 combat troops in East Timor.

He said the troop movements may have involved about 10,000 men, of whom perhaps half were combat troops, and noted that this followed Indonesian claims that between 12 and 15 soldiers had been killed by ex-Fretilin villagers on 8 August.

The report of the recent parliamentary delegation to East Timor is expected to be tabled today by Mr Bill Morrison, the chairman of the House of Representatives foreign affairs and defence committee.

The report is expected to say that East Timor had been integrated into Indonesia, that there has been substantial development in East Timor since Indonesia established its authority there and that Fretilin — the East Timor independence movement — does not appear to control significant areas of East Timor.

Mr Hayden and the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, have both said the report will be important in shaping the Government's attitude on East Timor.

One member of the delegation, the Labor Senator Gordon McIntosh, has included a dissenting report which will also be published today.

SMH 6/9/83

Hayden denies build-up

CANBERRA. — Reports by Radio Australia that Indonesia had increased the number of its troops in East Timor 20,000 had no substance, the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, said yesterday.

"In fact, our advice is that logistically it's just not credible," he told a Canberra press conference.

"The number of troops in East Timor falls short of half of that number, and of them probably half are front-line troops. The rest are logistical support troops."

However, Mr Hayden said his

department suspected that there had been increased Indonesian activity since August 8 when about 15 or 16 Indonesian soldiers were killed by an armed band of Fretilin guerillas.

"At the time at which they were killed the attack was unexpected, unprovoked," he said.

"The Indonesians had been in an extended process of dialogue with the Fretilin forces about some sort of possible settlement.

"It is the claim of the Indonesian authorities that the dialogue was initiated by Fretilin. Fretilin challenge that and say that the dialogue was initiated by the Indonesians.

"Regardless of whoever initiated the dialogue, the Indonesians are quite hostile to the fact that quite a number of their troops were killed as a result of that attack which is quite contrary to the spirit of consultation and communication which had been going on.

"In those circumstances they have become more active. This is our advice, the best we can get at this point, anyway."

Mr Hayden's remarks come on the eve of the presentation to Parliament today of the report of the Australian parliamentary delegation to Indonesia and East Timor.

In Jakarta yesterday Australia officially urged restraint in East Timor.

In a statement handed to senior Indonesian foreign affairs officials, Mr Hayden said any resumption of hostilities "represented a step backwards."

He urged restraint so that peaceful negotiations between Fretilin and Indonesian authorities could continue, Australian Embassy officials said.

Senior sources in Jakarta deny any significant troop or equipment build-up in East Timor, but say that the territory's four battalions of about 3,000 troops have been strengthened.

Financial Review 7/9/83

TIMOR REPORT BACKS GOVT

By DEBORAH SNOW

THE report of the Australian Parliamentary delegation which toured East Timor last month has given justification to the Hawke Government to maintain support in the United Nations for Indonesia's annexation of the territory.

Under the Fraser Government, Australia sided consistently with Indonesia in the United Nations (UN) on the issue of East Timorese independence.

However, policy resolutions passed at the ALP national conference last year called for this to be reversed.

— Indonesians 'in control'

The Parliamentary delegation's report tabled in Federal Parliament yesterday, states: "An Australian vote negating the Indonesian position would not alter the situation in East Timor. Such a vote would in fact diminish any role that Australia could play in East Timor and Indonesia as a whole."

The issue is one which could again arise next month in the UN and should the Labor Government decide to ignore the policy resolutions of last year, it is certain to draw on the delegation's report for support.

An acrimonious split has

emerged within the ranks of the delegation and a minority report from Senator Gordon McIntosh (Lab, WA) was attached to the document tabled yesterday.

Senator McIntosh states that he considers the majority of the report to be "tendentious, superficial and at times misleading."

The leader of the delegation, one-time Whitlam minister, Mr Bill Morrison (Lab, NSW), has responded by accusing Senator McIntosh of quoting inaccurately from the main report and being inconsistent and over-general in his criticisms.

In a letter to Parliament conveying the majority report, Mr Morrison says: "To the extent that the document signed by Senator McIntosh relies for its argumentation on views demonstrably not contained in the agreed report, it has no status as a dissenting report . . ."

"In the end the document signed by Senator McIntosh, for its desired impact, falls back on highly quotable, but unsubstantiated assertions . . ."

Senator McIntosh, who is identified strongly with the Left of the ALP, has been a

long-time critic of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

The majority report was endorsed by Mr Morrison and the three remaining delegation members, Mr Don Dobie (Lib, NSW), Senator David MacGibbon (Lib, Qld) and Mr Manfred Cross (Lab, Qld).

The majority report includes among its findings that:

- The Indonesian Administration in East Timor co-operated fully with the delegation in allowing it to inspect the territory.

- That it was free to talk with people "at random," including detainees on the prison island of Atauro, who

Continued page 6

REPORT ON TIMOR

From page 1

were described in the report as "not cowed."

- That a "serious and sustained" effort was being made by the Indonesians to expand the education system in East Timor.

- That while a combination of climatic factors and administration problems could result in occasional food shortages in isolated villages, that "the Administration would not knowingly allow such situations to develop and would take prompt action on being advised of such a problem."

- That the Indonesian Ad-

ministration is effectively in control of all "settled areas" of East Timor.

- That the delegation saw nothing to bear out the highest estimates of the numbers of pro-independence Fretilin guerillas (put by Fretilin itself at 4,000 to 5,000 including families).

- That there was evidence of some violations of human rights, for example the presence of detainees without trial on Atauro Island.

The report also argues that "Australia must attempt to understand how central an issue Timor is in Indonesia's measurement of its relationship with Australia."

F.R. 7/9/83

FEDERAL PARLIAMENT

MPs back status quo in E Timor

From PATRICK WALTERS

A change in Australia's vote at the United Nations on the East Timor issue would only damage relations with Indonesia, a bipartisan parliamentary delegation has concluded.

The report of the delegation to Indonesia said that an Australian vote against the Indonesian position would not alter the situation in East Timor.

"Such a vote would in fact diminish any role that Australia could play in East Timor and Indonesia as a whole," the report said.

The Fraser Government supported Indonesia at the United Nations but resolutions passed at the ALP national conference last year commit the Government to support East Timor.

The delegation's 214-page report was tabled in Federal Parliament yesterday. Members of the delegation, which visited East Timor and Indonesia in July, were Mr Bill Morrison (Lab, NSW, leader), Mr Don Dobie (Lib, NSW), Mr Manfred Cross (Lab, Qld), Senator Gordon McIntosh (Lab, WA) and Senator David MacGibbon (Lib, Qld).

The report contained a five-page dissenting statement from Senator McIntosh, who called the main report "tendentious, superficial and at times misleading in its evaluations and observations."

The report emphasised that Indonesia regards the incorporation of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia as final and irreversible.

It said that the central Government had been making a special effort in East Timor and that there was no evidence of famine or severe food shortages.

"The development efforts now being carried forward in East Timor were evident to varying degrees, in virtually all the places visited by the delegation.

"In particular Dili gives all the appearances of having developed into an active and relatively prosperous provincial centre."

The delegation found it difficult to ascertain Fretilin numbers but doubted Lisbon estimates that there were 6,000 to 7,000 armed Fretilin.

Mr Morrison said when tabling the report that the Fretilin in East Timor had become the main victims of the "propaganda" of overseas supporters.

"They are living on false expectations. In the circumstances the situation in East Timor is to my mind a cruel deception."

In his dissenting statement Senator McIntosh said that he did not believe that the majority report would serve the best interests of the Australian-Indonesian relationship nor the best interests of the Timorese.

"The report tends to diminish the significance of aspects of the Timor problem, and it contains a misleading perception of the

character of support in Australia for the East Timorese," he said.

Peter Hastings, Foreign Editor, writes: There is no doubt of the feline despatch with which Mr Morrison and Mr Dobie, normally on opposite sides of the political fence, buried a well-aimed axe between Senator McIntosh's shoulder blades in the debate on East Timor.

Mr Morrison made it clear that Senator McIntosh had agreed clause by clause to the substance of the report before his return to Australia.

Mr Dobie described the dissenting report as a "collection of generalities, and a farrago of distortions."

The general impression left by the debate is that nothing has changed over East Timor's issues. A substantial minority in Parliament and outside will maintain a fruitless concern with events which are now irreversible while resolutely turning their backs on the evidence, seen by every member of the delegation and accompanying journalists, of the positive attempts by Indonesia to atone for the sins of the past.

But, as Mr Morrison pointed out, if for one reason or another Australia decided to vote against Indonesia on the East Timor question in the UN this year, it would not help the East Timorese in the slightest or make any difference to their status. It will not change Indonesia's act of incorporation of East Timor. It is highly unlikely even to make a difference to the UN vote itself,

S.M.H 7.9.83

// Indonesia accused of genocide

SIR: Your foreign editor's overview of the Indonesian occupation of West Papua (Herald, August 30) fails to address the available facts.

The author has chosen to regard the acculturation of the indigenous Melanesian population by a militarily-backed Indonesian occupation as both beneficial and inevitable, albeit painful. This view is the same as that which accepts the Indonesian occupation of East Timor as nothing more than an inconvenient inevitability.

Your author must know that the Indonesian Government is engaging in both physical and cultural genocide in West Papua.

The alienation of land held under traditional title, the creation of dependence, the physical and ideological attack on traditional values and culture are certainly tactics familiar to Aboriginal people in Australia.

What is going on in West Papua now has been practised here since 1770. Not

since the 1930s have there been massacres in Australia, but there have been well documented examples in West Papua in the past few years.

Indonesia's first Governor of the province, Eliezer Bonay, has estimated that 30,000 people were killed by Indonesian forces up to the so-called Act of Free Choice of 1969.

Indonesian Army reports show use of helicopter gunships in the strafing of villagers in the late-1970s. In 1981, a clean-sweep operation in the Central Highlands, incorporating the bombing of villages, was responsible for the deaths of thousands, perhaps 13,000 people, many in the Wissel Lakes area. Numerous cases of individual murders and arrest have been documented by TAPOL, the British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia.

Australia's role in this regional imperialism is clearly one of complicity. On July 27, 1977, an Australian helicopter pilot was killed and four of his

crew - three Australian - were injured in a crash in the Jayawijaya border area. Australian survey support has helped the Indonesian Army in its operations to suppress Melanesian resistance.

Our Government remains quiet while East Timor is repeated in West Papua.

Your writer's assurance that the acculturation of the traditional owners of West Papua is a *fait accompli* is as misplaced as nineteenth-century assurances that Australian Aborigines were destined to disappear. Where there is oppression, there will be resistance.

Campaigns for land rights in Australia today will have their parallel in West Papua. The pity of it is that thousands will be killed or deprived before the Indonesian Government, or its Australian supporters, will see this.

D. Morrissey,
Aboriginal Land Rights
Support Group,
Pitt Street,
Sydney.

September 1

REPORT ON TIMOR

Financial Review

From page 1

were described in the report as "not cowed."

- That a "serious and sustained" effort was being made by the Indonesians to expand the education system in East Timor.

- That while a combination of climatic factors and administration problems could result in occasional food shortages in isolated villages, that "the Administration would not knowingly allow such situations to develop and would take prompt action on being advised of such a problem."

- That the Indonesian Ad-

ministration is effectively in control of all "settled areas" of East Timor.

- That the delegation saw nothing to bear out the highest estimates of the numbers of pro-independence Fretilin guerillas (put by Fretilin itself at 4,000 to 5,000 including families).

- That there was evidence of some violations of human rights, for example the presence of detainees without trial on Atauro Island.

The report also argues that "Australia must attempt to understand how central an issue Timor is in Indonesia's measurement of its relationship with Australia."

C.T. 7/9/83

Timor report 'misleading'

The report by an Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor was misleading and a cynical political exercise which could adversely affect future policy decisions, the sole dissenting member of the delegation told Parliament last night.

Senator McIntosh (Lab, WA), opening the Senate debate on the committee's report, tabled in Parliament yesterday, said he had dissented with great reluctance.

"I stress that I am dissenting not merely because I disagree with the general thrust of the report, but because I do not believe that its approach will serve the best interests of the Australian-Indonesian relationship and, not least, the interests of the Timorese themselves," he said.

After careful examination, he had considered the report to be tendentious, superficial and at times misleading in its evaluations and observations.

In the House of Representatives, the delegation leader, Mr Morrison (Lab, NSW) said there had been a concerted effort to undermine the credibility of the delegation before, during and after its visit to East Timor and Indonesia.

At no time had the Indonesian Government raised objections to the delegation membership, which had been decided by the Australian Parliament. The delegation had visited eight of nine villages recommended by a long-time critic of the Indonesians, Mr Fry (Lab, ACT).

The report stated that Indonesia was making a significant effort to improve the physical and material conditions in East Timor, and a greater understanding of the Indonesian position on the question was required from Australians.

It identified some continuing human-rights violations in East Timor but said Australia's views on the subject of self-determination for the former Portuguese colony were irrelevant because the Indonesian Government would not retreat from its stand.

ALP row over Timor report

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — A fierce public row erupted yesterday between two senior Government members of the recent parliamentary delegation to East Timor over the contents of the delegation's report.

The report, tabled in Parliament yesterday, says Australia will lose what influence it has over Indonesia if it opposes in the United Nations Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, a position at odds with Labor Party policy.

The leader of the delegation, Mr Bill Morrison, former Labor Defence Minister and now chairman of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, strongly criticised Labor Senator Gordon McIntosh for issuing a dissenting report which, he said, relied on quotations not in the delegation's report.

Senator McIntosh, chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee in the Senate, told the Senate, "I question the ethics" of Mr Morrison using his introductions to the report to attack the dissenting report.

The report criticises human rights violations in East Timor and other parts of Indonesia, but overwhelmingly supports Indonesian political and economic developments in East Timor and other parts of the Indonesian archipelago visited by the delegation in late July and early August.

Although it does not make a formal recommendation on how

Australia should vote if the East Timor resolution arises in the United Nations again later this year, it says Australian opposition to Indonesian annexation of East Timor would be futile and damaging to relations between the two countries.

The report, especially the dissenting report by Senator McIntosh, is likely to cause a renewal of the dispute within the Labor Party over policy towards East Timor.

In the longer term, however, it is likely to achieve the foreign policy objectives of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden: to "place our relations with Indonesia on a friendly and constructive basis", to quote Mr Hawke.

Senator McIntosh told the Senate he had been led to make his report dissenting from the findings of the other four members of the delegation, two Labor and two Liberal, because "the Government and its advisers might well make inappropriate policy decisions on the basis of the clear implications of its contents".

He said: "I do not believe that some of these conclusions will have been justified by the experiences of the delegation."

Mr Morrison, tabling the report, talked of "the crunch part of what flows from the delegation report".

PAGE 8: Hundreds executed in Timor, says Amnesty

WORLD NEWS

'Age' 7/9/83

Hundreds executed in Timor: Amnesty

NEW YORK, 6 Sept. — Indonesian forces have systematically tortured and summarily executed hundreds of prisoners in East Timor since they invaded it in 1975, Amnesty International has told the United Nations.

Amnesty's representative, Margo Picken, testified at the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation on Friday that Amnesty had strong evidence that Indonesian troops had "engaged systematically and persistently in practices of brutality".

The torture and killing were officially condoned, she said. Military instructions issued to Indonesian forces condone and prescribe policies that have resulted in violations of fundamental human rights in East Timor.

She said a secret military manual issued to Indonesian forces in East Timor permitted torture and gave guidelines to prevent its exposure. The manual, disclosed by Amnesty last month, told soldiers not to photograph prisoners being stripped naked and tortured with electric shocks.

Ms Picken said there were two secret torture centres in the East Timor capital of Dili, one a former warehouse now used by a paratroop unit, the other a house taken over by army intelligence.

Quoting a local Timorese who had worked with Indonesian interrogators, she said people suspected of supporting the Fretilin resistance movement were commonly tortured in custody.

"The senior authorities would decide who was to be killed after the interrogation. Most of the leaders or more educated ones, those who were talented, were killed. Their wives would also be interrogated, tortured and killed," she said.

AAP-Reuters reports from Lisbon: Lord Avebury, chairman of Britain's Parliamentary Human Rights Committee, said yesterday that Indonesian troops and helicopters were evacuating civilians in Dili in preparation for a big drive against Fretilin guerrillas.

He told reporters after a meeting with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Gama, that according to information he had received "everything is being prepared for military operations on a large scale".

S.M.H 7.9.83

Timor 'evacuation'

LISBON, Tuesday. — Lord Avebury, chairman of Britain's Parliamentary Human Rights Committee, said yesterday that Indonesian troops and helicopters were evacuating the civilian population of the East Timor capital, Dili, in preparation for a major drive against Fretilin guerillas. Lord Avebury came to Lisbon to hand over a petition, signed by 200 European Parliamentarians from eight countries, calling for self-determination in East Timor. Fretilin sources said a cease-fire arranged last March in a bid for a peaceful settlement had broken down and Indonesian forces had resumed a campaign of "genocide and torture" against the population.

— AAP-Reuters.

Split on Timor

CANBERRA — A controversial report to Parliament on East Timor has stopped short of recommending which way Australia should vote at the United Nations on Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese territory.

The report was endorsed by four of the five delegates who visited Indonesia and East Timor in July and August.

The fifth member, Left-wing West Australian Senator McIntosh, issued a dissenting report.

A L P policy calls for a change of Australia's vote at the U N against Indonesia, an end to Australian military aid and support for East Timorese self-determination.

The party's Left wing is pushing for implementation of the policy, but visits to Indonesia by the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, and the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, have convinced them of the need for change.

The delegation chairman, Mr Morrison, said the delegation found Indonesia regarded the question of East

report

Timor as central to its relations with Australia.

He said a vote against the Indonesian position at the U N would have a "detrimental impact" on relations with Indonesia and Australia's ability to influence Indonesian policies, particularly on East Timor.

Mr Morrison said the delegation had sought to clear up some misconceptions in Australia about the Indonesian annexation.

The report said Indonesia was making significant bids to improve conditions in East Timor.

It identified some human rights violations, but said Australia's views on self-determination were irrelevant because Indonesia would not change its policies.

Senator McIntosh called the majority report "superficial and at times misleading in its evaluations and observations."

The Australian 7/9

Indonesia planning attack, says human rights group

LISBON: Indonesia is planning a major attack on Dili, the capital of East Timor, employing tens of thousands of troops, according to Lord Avebury, the president of the British Commission for Human Rights.

The Indonesian forces, which have occupied the former Portuguese colony since the end of 1975, have already started airlifting the civilian population out of the capital, he said in Lisbon yesterday.

The Indonesians face opposition from Fretilin (the East Timor Liberation Front) guerrillas, and launched an operation against them in mid-Au-

gust after the breakdown of an attempted dialogue between the two sides in March.

Lord Avebury met the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Jaime Gama, yesterday, and is to have an audience with President Eanes before leaving for New York where he is to take part in a United Nations General Assembly debate on East Timor.

A number of international organisations accused the Indonesian occupying forces of torture and murder.

Agence France-Presse
Timor report — Page 2

The Age 19

WORLD NEWS

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Timor report notes Indonesian 'effort', but senator dissents

INDONESIA is making a significant effort to improve the physical and material conditions in East Timor and Australians need a better understanding of the Indonesian position.

This is the main message in the long-awaited report of the Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor.

The report, released last night, has identified some continuing human rights violations in East Timor but claims Australia's views on the subject of self-determination for the former Portuguese colony are irrelevant because the Indonesian Government will not back off from its stand.

This view has drawn a strong dissenting report from one delegation member, Senator Gordon McIntosh (ALP, WA).

Senator McIntosh has called the majority report "tendentious, superficial and at times misleading in its evaluations and observations".

He claims that because of a lack of time the five-member delegation had formed only impressions and not soundly-based assessments.

The report, presented by the delegation's leader, Mr Bill Morrison (ALP, NSW), contains a description of the July visit and outlines the political sensitivities involved in Indonesia's agreement to allow the issue to be re-opened.

There is limited criticism of continuing human rights violations and a denial of reports of widespread hunger on the island.

The report canvasses accusations that Atauro Island off East Timor is a concentration camp for Fretilin sympathisers and concludes that the detainees are well fed and live in moderately comfortable conditions.

It says the Indonesian Government regards the Timor question as a critical test of Australia-Indonesian relations, indicating that if differences persist the whole relationship will suffer.

"How Australia votes in the United Nations will make no difference to the situation in East Timor," the report said.

"The Indonesians have shown a strong desire to normalise and strengthen relations with Australia, even though an Australian vote negating the Indonesian position would not alter the situation in East Timor.

"Such a vote would in fact diminish any role Australia could play in East Timor and Indonesia as a whole."

The report said the delegation had provided the Indonesian authorities with a list of 11 places it wished to visit and the locations were supplied by pro-Fretilin sources in Australia. The delegation was allowed to go where it wished.

It was free to speak to people at random and no restrictions appeared to have been placed on its contact with the people.

While the presence of Indonesian officials may have had some restraining effect, the delegation was not prevented from talking to anyone it approached, the report said.

The report said allegations of summary executions, unexplained disappearances, indiscriminate killings, torture, rape and inhumane treatment of prisoners abounded.

Such allegations were made in a letter handed to Mr Morrison by a Fretilin representative during the visit.

"The very presence of detainees without trial on Atauro Island is an example of human rights violations which are still evident."

Indonesian authorities were still preventing people from leaving East Timor but the report said progress was being made in this area.

The delegation's first visit was to Atauro Island.

"While the inhabitants are obviously being held there against their will, the physical conditions under which they live are moderately comfortable and the people looked as well fed and dressed as the villagers in other areas visited," the report said.

Timor 'evacuation'

S.M.H. 7/9/13

LISBON, Tuesday. — Lord Avebury, chairman of Britain's Parliamentary Human Rights Committee, said yesterday that Indonesian troops and helicopters were evacuating the civilian population of the East Timor capital, Dili, in preparation for a major drive against Fretilin guerillas. Lord Avebury came to Lisbon to hand over a petition, signed by 200 European Parliamentarians from eight countries, calling for self-determination in East Timor. Fretilin sources said a cease-fire arranged last March in a bid for a peaceful settlement had broken down and Indonesian forces had resumed a campaign of "genocide and torture" against the population. — AAP-Reuters.

... they passed ...

Age ~~ONE~~ 3/9/83

Indons tighten Timor secrecy

JAKARTA, 2 Sept. — The Indonesian military has clamped a tight security lid on the nature and extent of renewed hostilities between the army and Fretilin guerillas in East Timor.

Diplomatic officials said army operations launched following a reported uprising on 8 August were continuing, but gave no details.

Neither the military nor local media have publicly disclosed the uprising or subsequent anti-Fretilin operations.

The uprising was probably not "spontaneous" as the military initially claimed.

It was more likely instigated by Fretilin as the first of a series of operations to attract world attention before the next month's expected United Nations vote on East Timorese self-sovereignty.

Irish Times 8/9/1983

Timor bishop tells of killings and starvation

By Patrick Nolan, Religious Affairs Correspondent

A BISHOP from East Timor said in Dublin yesterday that many people were being killed there by the Indonesian Army and many more were dying of starvation and malnutrition.

In an interview after he met officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs, he said that he was hopeful that there would be much more international support for self-determination for the East Timonese and for the withdrawal of the Indonesians, who were trying to annex their country.

"Since the Indonesian Army invaded the country in 1975 the population of 680,000 has been reduced by about 200,000", said the former Bishop of Dili, East Timor, Monsignor Martinho Da Costa Lopez, who has retired and is living in Lisbon. "About 60,000 were killed and about 140,000 died as a result of starvation caused by economic disruption and inability to grow food".

Recently, between 20,000 and 30,000 new troops were sent in and those who had been serving there were withdrawn. He pointed out that Amnesty International

recently published a report based on official Indonesian Army documents which showed that torture was being used on a wide-spread scale.

Ireland and Greece are the only European countries which have supported self-determination at the United Nations. The bishop is going to Australia and will meet the Australian Catholic bishops. Later he intends to go to New York and will meet the US bishops.

The US and Australia have supported the Indonesian claim to East Timor. Australia has close trading relations with Indonesia but it may change its policy as the Labour Party is sympathetic to Timonese independence.

At the UN General Assembly last year 50 countries voted for self-determination, 46 voted against and there were 50 abstentions. Twelve parliamentarians — TDs, senators and MEPs — have asked the Department of Foreign Affairs to support the East Timonese and drew attention to their suffering.

Bishop Da Costa Lopez pointed out that the Indonesian authorities invited a team from the Catholic

Institute for International Relations, whose headquarters are in London, to go to East Timor, but the visit was cancelled at the last moment. Ralph Nordlinger, of the *Philadelphia Enquirer*, recently toured the country and reported that about 90 per cent of those living in rural areas showed signs of malnutrition.

The island of Timor used to be divided between the Dutch and Portuguese. West Timor, comprising less than half of it, has been part of Indonesia since Indonesian independence was won after the second World War. East Timor was a Portuguese colony for about 400 years. Culturally and linguistically it differs from Indonesia. About 51 per cent of the East Timonese are animists and 47 per cent are Catholics. Ninety per cent of the Indonesian population of 150 millions are Muslim.

In 1975 Portugal seemed to accept that independence could not be delayed. A radical coalition group declared independence but did not receive sufficient international recognition and in December, 1975, a large force of Indonesians invaded the island.

PERTH THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 8 1983

Timor report

CRITICS of an Australian parliamentary delegation's report on East Timor say that because of the shortness of the MPs' visit and their dependence on local authorities, their observations amount to impressions, rather than soundly based assessments.

That is fair criticism—up to a point. But a full and open inquiry into life in East Timor is not an option. And in those circumstances there is a good deal to be gained from impressions, provided they are based, as these were, on freedom of movement and inquiry.

Moreover, what the MPs have had to say comes on top of what others, including representatives of this newspaper, have seen on recent visits to East Timor. All told, there is a fair measure of material on which to make soundly based assessments.

And the most significant of those assessments would seem to be that Indonesia is making a serious effort to improve conditions in East Timor.

With the Left wing of the Labor Party still entrenched on the issue, stiff resistance can be expected to attempts to revise party policy, which calls for Indonesian withdrawal from the former Portuguese colony.

But the report serves to demonstrate the wisdom of the Hawke-Hayden approach in practice. Though it does not recommend how Australia should vote if the East Timor resolution arises in the United Nations again later this year, it points out that Australian opposition to Indonesia's takeover would be futile and damaging to relations between the two countries.

There is good reason for Australian disquiet on East Timor. The report's reference to continuing human rights violations and Amnesty International's claims of systematic torture in the years since Indonesia invaded in 1975 cannot be disregarded. And the fact that the East Timorese were never given a chance to decide their own future is a blot on the consciences of several countries, including ours.

But the reality is that things are improving in East Timor, that our best way of helping that process lies in maintaining good relations with Indonesia and that an act of self-determination for the East Timorese is simply not a practical proposition.

UN call on Timor

GENEVA, Wednesday. — A UN human rights subcommittee adopted a resolution here yesterday “reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence.” The resolution called on the UN Secretary-General to step up “efforts to reach a stable solution, taking into consideration the interests of the people of East Timor.” East Timor was merged into Indonesia by a presidential decree in July 1976 after an invasion by Indonesian “volunteer” troops who said they had been called in by the local population. The western part of the island, formerly Dutch Timor, has been part of Indonesia since 1949. The resolution followed urgent requests for humanitarian aid against “genocide” by Indonesian occupation forces.

8/19/83
S.M.H.

C. Times 8/9/83

UN committee votes on Timor

GENEVA, Wednesday (AAP-AFP). — A United Nations human-rights sub-committee adopted yesterday a motion reaffirming

the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence.

The resolution called on

the UN Secretary-General to step up efforts to reach a stable solution, taking into consideration the interests of the people of East Timor.

East Timor and Australia

THE report of the parliamentary delegation which visited East Timor has followed the lines which virtually any independent, truthful non-expert inspection of the state of affairs in that unhappy area would have taken.

Mr Bill Morrison and his colleagues (including, it seems, Senator McIntosh) saw as much as they possibly could, subject to limitations of travel, language, and unfamiliarity with a small, obscure region. The committee, at least four out of the five (Senator McIntosh's conclusions are ambiguous) came to the conclusion that there simply is no point in further active opposition to the Indonesian incorporation of East Timor.

This is a conclusion which most reasonable people, and particularly those who have had an opportunity to visit the area, albeit subject to lack of expertise, have already reached. East Timor, like West Timor (which is ethnically identical) has to be considered a province of Indonesia.

This in no way constitutes an endorsement of the manner in which Indonesia incorporated (or, more bluntly, invaded and conquered) East Timor, nor does it represent any illusions about the nature of the Indonesian regime. The Indonesian Government could by no stretch of the imagination be described as tolerant, liberal or democratic.

But neither is it totalitarian. By one standard of comparison, it is clearly to be preferred to the Russian or Chinese governments, which are far more brutal and prone to conquest than is the Indonesian Government. By another standard, it is to be pre-

ferred to the other major Moslem countries of the world. One of the most important facts about the Indonesian Government is that it is not dominated by Islamic extremists.

But it is not necessary to mount a defence of the Indonesians or their behaviour. The reality of the issue is that the incorporation of East Timor is a fait accompli. More, there is no worthwhile evidence, as distinct from propaganda, that Fretilin has substantial support in East Timor.

There is an enormous amount of propaganda generated by external parties regarding the state of affairs in East Timor. A recent example was the report of a major mobilisation of Indonesian troops. There is always the possibility that this might be true; but the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, has already pointed out that there is no evidence that it is true, and it is inherently unlikely.

There have also been renewed allegations of famine in East Timor. Again, most of these reports, oddly enough, seem to emanate from Portugal, where there are many groups interested in opposing the new realities of government and economic development in East Timor.

Mr Morrison's delegation does not seem to have returned with any mistaken perception about East Timor. They observed the prison island of Atauro, they observed poverty and hunger. These are phenomena which can be observed in most underdeveloped, poor countries, and most especially in the countries which are endorsed by the local supporters of Fretilin.

Again, it is not a question of whether East Timor is or could be a rich, liberal democracy. It never has been, and certainly never promised to be under the Portuguese or under the ideologically inspired groups who tried to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of the Portuguese empire.

Amnesty International has rightly pointed to gross breaches of human rights by the Indonesian authorities, both in East Timor and in the rest of Indonesia. These are a matter of concern to the Australian Government, and to Australians generally. But it is only by dealing in sensible terms with the Indonesian Government that Australia is going to be able to exercise a beneficial influence on behalf of human rights in that country.

It is, of course, true that there are many people in this country, and many in the ranks of the Labor Caucus, who would rather see people die or languish in prison in Timor and Indonesia rather than admit that hysterical opposition to the Indonesian regime and the realities of East Timor is quite pointless.

In all honesty, such people should pay regard to the report of the parliamentary delegation. Four of its members expressed satisfaction, within the limitations of such an exercise, as to the irreversibility of the state of affairs in East Timor. The fifth, Senator McIntosh, accepted, according to the leader of the delegation, every phrase in the majority report and yet insisted on appending a statement with no apparent basis in fact.

At this point, diminishing returns on further investigation have clearly set in. There has been a virtual procession of independent observers through East Timor, from Gough Whitlam on, and they have all reached similar conclusions. From now on, failing new and convincing evidence, as distinct from the continual outpourings of interested propagandists, there is nowhere for the Australian Government to go but towards reapproachment with Indonesia.

The truth of our international situation is that there is no likely threat to Australia externally, and no evidence at all that Indonesia would ever be interested in expansion outside the boundaries of the colonial empire which it inherited. But as the biggest Moslem power in the world, and as the most populous member of the ASEAN group, it is a country of great significance both to Australia and to our region.

It makes sense for Australia to set about developing a sensible modus vivendi with Indonesia, and assisting it to develop economically and politically towards a more prosperous and more liberal political and economic regime.

We don't have to like the regime in Indonesia to accept the fact that, internationally, we have to live with it just as we have to live with the Americans, the Russians, the Chinese, and indeed every other major power. The East Timor issue is a worthy one, and we should be concerned with the welfare of the East Timorese — but not for ideological reasons.

Senators may urge anti-Indon vote in UN

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — A Senate committee is expected to call on the Federal Government to vote against Indonesia in the United Nations on the East Timor question in a report to be tabled in Parliament, possibly today.

The report, on human rights in East Timor, is expected to argue that the Government should withhold support for Indonesia until it conducts an internationally-recognised poll of the East Timorese people on their future.

The report's recommendations, if as expected, would be strongly at odds with the recommendations of the report of a parliamentary delegation which recently visited East Timor and whose report was tabled in Parliament on Tuesday.

That report said it would be futile, and damaging to Australian relations with Indonesia, if Australia opposed Indonesia over the East Timor resolution.

The publication of the Senate inquiry report could add to the already bitter dispute within the Labor Party over East Timor.

Senator Gordon McIntosh, who is chairman of the Senate inquiry and was also a member of the parliamentary delegation, refused to sign the delegation report and submitted a minority report saying he feared the report of the delegation could lead the Government to draw incorrect policy conclusions — namely on the UN vote.

The Senate report may be open to criticism that it is based on evidence which, as the committee has acknowledged, may be dated. The delegation on the other hand has been criticised by Senator McIntosh as receiving only an incomplete account of the situation in East Timor because East Timorese were unlikely to frankly criticise the Indonesians in front of the Indonesian Government representatives who accompanied the delegation.

The Senate committee is expected to express concern that it could not make a first-hand investigation of the situation in East Timor.

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PETER HASTINGS visits the site of an infamous former jail at Tanah Merah in Irian Jaya

SMM 8/9/83

The town that belongs to another world

THE GIANT Indonesian Air Force helicopter roars up river. Flocks of alarmed white cockatoos spiral skywards from the jungle canopy. Heavy rain drums in gusts against the streaming perspex. Below, the Digul River flows brown and fast in a sodden landscape. We land in a whirlwind of red mud. Tanah Merah.

It's a big Irian Jaya centre of 9,000 or so with a large Catholic mission, a school, a hospital and the saddest-faced priest, dressed in civvies, I have seen in years.

As the hornbill flies, it's only about 115 kilometres due west across the PNG border from Ningrum, one of the Fly River Ok Tedi centres. But in terms of its history and its future it belongs to another world.

It will one day be a major Javanese TM (transmigrasi) settlement area connected, the Indonesians hope, with the southern section of the trans-Irian highway now pushing north from Merauke through the trans-Fly swamps to terminate at Mindaianah, another large centre about 30 kilometres east of Tanah Merah, nearer Papua New Guinea.

Several days steaming up the tidal Digul, Tanah Merah has

another claim to fame, in itself an important reason for my visit there in the company of the Indonesian Commander for Maluku-Irian Jaya, Lieutenant-General Kapih Suriadiredja, and his senior staff officers.

In the 1930s it was known as Boven Digul and was the site of the infamous Dutch prison in which the Netherlands East Indies Government interned the toughest and most obdurate of Indonesian political activists.

Mohammed Hatta, Indonesia's first Vice-President, was a prisoner there in 1935. He is codenamed "Hafil" by Sutan Sjahrir, an early Indonesian Prime Minister, who was also there in 1935-36 and wrote about the despairing, brutalising experience in his *Out of Exile*. There was such a furore in Holland over their imprisonment in the centre of the world's largest malarious swamp that they were transferred to Bandanaira, in the Banda Sea, where the Japanese released them, and Sukarno in Sumatra, in 1942.

Tanah Merah is one of the most hallowed names in the mythology of Indonesian independence. It has also an intimate, now largely forgotten association with Australia simply because the Japanese did

not liberate it. But the Dutch did and brought its unhappy, half-starved, desperately ill inmates to Australia in a curious episode which had quite profound implications for the infant republic at war's end.

The Dutch chose Tanah Merah (literally red earth) as a prison site for the same reason that the French chose Devil's Island — extreme isolation. Few who escaped Tanah Merah survived. They mostly died in the jungle or ended up in Tanah Tinggi, another five hours upstream, where the Dutch had an even more horrific prison compound for incorrigibles.

Tanah Merah camp consists of cell blocks, mess halls, a large solitary confinement cell — in effect an underground concrete bunker — police barracks, and exercise yards surrounded by a six-metre high stone wall. Only the Dutch, the Dutch-educated General Suriadiredja told me in a gesture of contempt, would think of building a stone wall in such a place.

The solidly built, tiny, airless cells and the humid mess halls are in as good condition as when they were built 53 years ago. Calendars scratched in the walls along with countless names and

cross-off dates look as if done yesterday and tell their own story.

Only two men ever escaped their Dutch captors. Miraculously, both made their way to southern Papua on foot and by canoe and sailed in a pearling lugger to Thursday Island. More dead than alive, they were arrested by Australian police, and promptly extradited to Batavia, where the Dutch took great pleasure in returning them to Tanah Merah. They were to escape again.

During 1942 Japanese patrols penetrated as far south as the Digul. For various reasons they never tried to reach Tanah Merah or attack Merauke. In mid-1943 the NEI Commissioner in Australia, Dr Charles van der Plas, made his way by ship to Tanah Merah and persuaded its 500 men, women and children to come to Australia.

When the 500 finally arrived, they were promptly interned in Cowra and the very ill were hospitalised. The wartime Labor Government, pledged to the colonial status quo in South-East Asia, didn't want to know them. The internees, sick and isolated over a decade, were largely ignorant of what had happened in the world.

In December, 1943, the Tanah Merah refugees were released, along with many other Indonesians. They migrated to a variety of jobs. With high skills and educational qualifications, they got key jobs with NEI forces and government-in-exile offices throughout Australia, where they were perfectly placed to monitor Dutch plans to re-establish sovereignty in the NEI following the August 17 independence declaration in Batavia, now Jakarta.

Many of them were in camps in what is now the outer Brisbane suburb of Tanah Merah. Some of the street names — Tingi, Pohon, Pintu and Abang — are Indonesian and refer to the Hell Camp they had escaped from in Irian Jaya.

A great number of the Tanah Merah group were communists and had close links with the Australian Communist Party. They were able to tap the sympathies also of a wide spectrum of Australian liberal opinion. It was their role in getting the Waterside Workers' Federation and Seamen's Union to black ban Dutch ships in Australia trying to reach the NEI with arms and munitions which helped seal the fate of the Dutch police actions.

Senators may urge anti-Indon vote in UN

Age 8/9

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — A Senate committee is expected to call on the Federal Government to vote against Indonesia in the United Nations on the East Timor question in a report to be tabled in Parliament, possibly today.

The report, on human rights in East Timor, is expected to argue that the Government should withhold support for Indonesia until it conducts an internationally-recognised poll of the East Timorese people on their future.

The report's recommendations, if as expected, would be strongly at odds with the recommendations of the report of a parliamentary delegation which recently visited East Timor and whose report was tabled in Parliament on Tuesday.

That report said it would be futile, and damaging to Australian relations with Indonesia, if Australia opposed Indonesia over the East Timor resolution.

The publication of the Senate inquiry report could add to the already bitter dispute within the Labor Party over East Timor.

Senator Gordon McIntosh, who is chairman of the Senate inquiry and was also a member of the parliamentary delegation, refused to sign the delegation report and submitted a minority report saying he feared the report of the delegation could lead the Government to draw incorrect policy conclusions — namely on the UN vote.

The Senate report may be open to criticism that it is based on evidence which, as the committee has acknowledged, may be dated. The delegation on the other hand has been criticised by Senator McIntosh as receiving only an incomplete account of the situation in East Timor because East Timorese were unlikely to frankly criticise the Indonesians in front of the Indonesian Government representatives who accompanied the delegation.

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Scare over outbreak ^{AGE} ^{8/8} of foot and mouth in Java

A serious outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Indonesia has caused tremors of apprehension in Australia's multi-billion-dollar pastoral industry.

Australian authorities are intensifying already stringent quarantine checks on passengers' land freight arriving from Indonesia to ensure that the disease is not imported.

"These outbreaks scare us to death," Mr Chris Bowman, commercial counsellor at the Australian embassy in Jakarta, said this week.

Malaysia was hit by foot and mouth last year and Australian officials expressed concern about the risk of the disease being spread to other countries via international air and shipping links.

The Malaysian outbreak was successfully contained, but its scale was smaller than the epidemic that has struck Indonesia. This is centred on the main Indonesian island of Java, where foot and mouth was thought to have been virtually eradicated last year after a \$A 10 million program largely paid for by an Australian Government aid scheme.

However, in July the disease reappeared in Blora, central Java, infecting 4000 animals. That outbreak was thought to have been isolated, but other cases have been reported

ASIA'S BUSINESS

with MICHAEL RICHARDSON
in Singapore

across Java and the situation is now considered to be extremely serious.

Nearly 7000 cattle, 2300 buffalo and 23 sheep have been affected, the official Indonesian news agency Antara has quoted the Junior Agriculture Minister, Mr Hutasoit, as saying.

He said Jakarta's main abattoir was temporarily closed after the discovery of infected cows. Agriculture Ministry officials said all movement of livestock from Java to other islands had been banned.

An official in charge of vaccine co-ordination, Mr Sukobagyo, said more than 400,000 of Indonesia's 4.8 million cattle and buffalo had been vaccinated since July. He said the situation was under control.

An Australian official at the Animal Disease Research Institute at Bogor, south of Jakarta, said Canberra has promised more than one million units of vaccine and an Australian scientist was assessing the situation.

No case of the disease is known to have occurred in Australia this century.

APR 9/9/83

Now a conflict in Senate over East Timor issue

By DEBORAH SNOW

THE East Timor issue has been thrust again into the Parliamentary foreground with the tabling yesterday of a deeply divided report on human rights in the territory.

The Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, chaired by Labor Senator Gordon McIntosh (WA) has brought down a report from which exactly half of its members dissent.

The chairman has a casting vote and so a majority has been built around Senator McIntosh and his Labor colleagues, Senator Nick Bolkus (SA) and Senator Cyril Primmer (Vic).

All three are identified with the ALP left.

The three dissenting members are the Opposition mem-

bers of the committee, Senator David MacGibbon (Lib, Old), Senator David Hamer (Lib, Vic), and Senator Douglas (N.P. NSW).

The split is a marked departure from the tradition of bipartisanship, which has marked most Senate committee reports, and points to the deeply conflicting views which the East Timor issue continues to generate between the left of the ALP and other parliamentary groups.

Last Tuesday, another report on East Timor was presented to

the House of Representatives by a Parliamentary delegation which toured the province early in August this year.

The delegation, led by one-time Whitlam minister Mr Bill Morrison, found that the Indonesians were making a genuine effort to improve conditions in East Timor, and that for Australia to continue opposing the annexation of the territory would cause more harm than good.

However, Senator McIntosh, was also a member of the delegation, and he tabled a dissenting report from his four delegation colleagues.

Senator McIntosh, in his alternate capacity as chairman of the Senate standing committee, said yesterday the majority of the Senate committee had found that "the invasion and subsequent occupation of East Timor by Indonesian forces was an illegal act."

"The fundamental human right — the right to self-determination — has been denied to the people of East Timor by Indonesia. That is an act which no economic development program and no 'pragmatic' Australian foreign policy can deny."

He said there was almost "overwhelming evidence" of continued abuse of the human rights of the East Timorese people.

But, speaking for the dissenters from the Senate committee report, Senator Hamer said yesterday that the report "ignores the facts, is irresponsible in its recommendations, and my only hope is that it will be totally ignored."

1/9/83

group opts for e on Timor

Last night Senator Hamer described the report as a totally useless exercise and based on evidence which was "incomplete, biased and unsatisfactory."

Senator McIntosh said there was overwhelming evidence of continued abuse of human rights of the people of East Timor.

"The fundamental human right — the right to self-determination — has been denied to the people of East Timor by Indonesia.

"It is clear that our expedient policies over the last eight years have done nothing to either influence or benefit East Timor."

permit the free movement of East Timorese out of East Timor and that Australia continue its family reunion program for East Timorese.

Both Senator McIntosh and Senator MacGibbon were members of the parliamentary delegation which travelled to East Timor in July. Senator McIntosh was the only dissenter from the findings of that delegation.

The dissenting report found that an accurate appraisal of human rights and conditions in East Timor could not be derived from information at the committee's disposal.

"Current information to the committee suggests that the excesses of the past have largely been elimin-

Refugees warned about relatives

LISBON, Thursday. — Timorese refugees in Lisbon have received news of the Indonesian military offensive in their homeland, and are concerned that the International Red Cross has apparently been forced to suspend its operations in the territory.

Letters smuggled from Timor have told of a massive movement of troops, tanks, helicopters and other materiel.

Timorese in Lisbon have been waiting for two scheduled ICRC flights bringing family members, which have not arrived. The ICRC has given no clear explanation, saying only that the flights were "delayed", and they hoped to bring the families later.

One letter from a refugee said a flight set for August 13 had been cancelled at the last moment be-

From JILL JOLLIFFE

cause the evening before "those in the bush" had killed 11 Indonesians, including a major, and captured some arms. People in Timor had been told no-one would be allowed to leave "until November".

Another letter said that two Fretilin guerrillas had been killed by Indonesian troops when a ceasefire was supposedly in force and that, on August 6, Fretilin had killed seven Red Beret commandos in the Vemasse region.

A refugee who arrived illegally in Lisbon via Jakarta said there had been no troop movement when he left Dili in early August. But in Jakarta he had received a letter

from a family member who said that about August 18 a massive movement of troops, tanks and other materiel had begun, and the offensive was due to begin on September 1.

Meanwhile, Lord Avebury, chairman of the British parliamentary human-rights group, is in Portugal to discuss Timor with Portuguese leaders. The new Portuguese Government has not formulated policy on Timor and apparently hopes to avoid a serious debate in the United Nations decolonisation committee this year.

On Monday, Lord Avebury presented the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Gama, with a petition from 200 European Community parliamentarians calling for European support for a policy of self-determination for Timor.

SMM. 9/9/83

Senate group opts for hard line on Timor

from PATRICK WALTERS

Australia should vote against Indonesia at the United Nations on the East Timor issue until an act of self-determination can take place, a Senate committee has recommended.

The report of the Senate Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee on human rights in East Timor recommends that Australia make formal recognition of the annexation of East Timor conditional on the holding of an internationally-supervised act of self-determination.

The report, tabled in the Senate yesterday, contrasts sharply with the findings of the parliamentary delegation to East Timor which tabled its report earlier this week.

Three members of the Senate committee or six have presented a dissenting report.

The majority report was supported by the committee's chairman, Senator Gordon McIntosh (Lab, WA) and Senators Nick Bolkus (Lab, SA) and Cyril Primmer (Lab, Vic.).

Senators Douglas Scott (Nat, NSW), David MacGibbon (Lib, Qld) and David Hamer (Lib, Vic), presented a dissenting report.

Last night Senator Hamer described the report as a totally useless exercise and based on evidence which was "incomplete, biased and unsatisfactory."

Senator McIntosh said there was overwhelming evidence of continued abuse of human rights of the people of East Timor.

"The fundamental human right—the right to self-determination — has been denied to the people of East Timor by Indonesia.

"It is clear that our expedient policies over the last eight years have done nothing to either influence Indonesia and earn its respect or to benefit East Timor," Senator McIntosh said.

The committee's majority report (which depended on the casting vote of Senator McIntosh) said that while conditions had improved in East Timor food shortages and malnutrition persisted.

It called on the Australian Government to use its influence in the UN and other bodies to maintain pressure on the Indonesian Government to redress "the legitimate grievances of the people of East Timor.

The whole committee agreed on only one recommendation: that Australia encourage Indonesia to

permit the free movement of East Timorese out of East Timor and that Australia continue its family reunion program for East Timorese.

Both Senator McIntosh and Senator MacGibbon were members of the parliamentary delegation which travelled to East Timor in July. Senator McIntosh was the only dissenter from the findings of that delegation.

The dissenting report found that an accurate appraisal of human rights and conditions in East Timor could not be derived from information at the committee's disposal.

"Current information to the committee suggests that the excesses of the past have largely been eliminated. There can be no doubt some breaches of human rights still occur," he said.

Senator Hamer told the Senate last night that the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia was a fact and would not be reversed by anything Australia said or did.

Senator Hamer said that it was his impression that the conclusions and recommendations of the majority report were decided before any of the evidence had been heard.

"I think this report ignores the facts, is irresponsible in its recommendations, and my only hope is that it will be totally ignored."

Timor team split on vote in UN

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — The recommendation of a Senate inquiry that Australia cast its United Nations vote on East Timor against Indonesia has been strongly condemned by the Liberal and National Party members of the inquiry.

As foreshadowed by 'The Age' yesterday, the report of the Senate inquiry into human rights in East Timor recommends that the Government votes against Indonesia in the UN on the Timor issue until Indonesia holds a poll to allow the East Timorese to determine their future.

The report says Australia should not recognise Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor as a province until an internationally recognised act of self-determination is allowed.

Although the report is technically the majority report of the inquiry, the committee chairman, Labor Senator Gordon McIntosh, used his casting vote to secure that majority. The report was supported by the three Labor members of the committee and opposed by the two Liberal and one National Party members.

In a minority report, Liberal Senators Hamer and McGibbon and the National's Senator Scott say the report does not give "an accurate appraisal of human rights and conditions in East Timor".

After the report was tabled, Senator Hamer told the Senate the inquiry should never have been conducted and that once it was commenced the object became "a damage limitation exercise" as far as its impact on Australian-Indonesian relations was concerned.

The recommendations made in the

AGE 9/9
majority report are consistent with Labor Party policy opposing Indonesian annexation of East Timor and voting against Indonesia on UN resolutions.

However, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, have been trying to ditch that policy to protect relations between the two countries.

The recommendations of the Senate inquiry are strongly opposed to the recommendations of the recent parliamentary delegation to East Timor. The delegation recommended — with Senator McIntosh dissenting — that it would be futile and damaging to Australian-Indonesian relations to oppose Indonesia in the UN.

Both Senator McIntosh and Senator McGibbon, will attend the United Nations session at which the Timor issue could be debated next week although it remains uncertain whether the matter will be raised because East Timor supporters feel that they do not have sufficient support.

The senate report strongly criticises the Department of Foreign Affairs for "uncritically" accepting Indonesian claims and statistics about East Timor.

It also:

- Accuses Indonesia of widespread abuses of human rights in East Timor — arbitrary arrest, detention, torture and summary execution, lack of freedom of speech, assembly or self-determination.

- Says the material conditions of the East Timorese have improved but questions whether Indonesians in East Timor may have been the main beneficiaries.

- Says Australia should use its influence in the UN to redress the legitimate grievances of the East Timorese people.

UN call on Timor

GENEVA, Wednesday. — A UN human rights subcommittee adopted a resolution here yesterday “reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence.” The resolution called on the UN Secretary-General to step up “efforts to reach a stable solution, taking into consideration the interests of the people of East Timor.” East Timor was merged into Indonesia by a presidential decree in July 1976 after an invasion by Indonesian “volunteer” troops who said they had been called in by the local population. The western part of the island, formerly Dutch Timor, has been part of Indonesia since 1949. The resolution followed urgent requests for humanitarian aid against “genocide” by Indonesian occupation forces.

S.M.H.

9/9

'Age' 10/9/83

Fretilin, army clash again, says Jakarta

JAKARTA, 9 Sept. — The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, today cautiously confirmed that hostilities had resumed between the military and the East Timor independence group Fretilin.

He also said he hoped his Australian counterpart, Mr Hayden, would advise the Human Rights Commission that its recent criticism of Indonesia was based on inaccurate Press reports of a huge troops build-up in East Timor.

Dr Mochtar's brief public statement on current hostilities, the first by a senior Government official, came during intensive questioning by foreign and Indonesian journalists at a Press conference.

Asked what was happening in East Timor, he said: "There was some ambush of some sort, and if the military decided to take some action, I think it is within our own right. The whole thing was blown up out of proportion."

He declined to specify whether this referred to an uprising by Fretilin rebels on a farming settlement on 8 August in which between 12 and 15 Indonesian troops were killed.

Senior sources earlier confirmed that Indonesia had stepped up operations against Fretilin rebels who had also staged several attacks since the 8 August uprising.

Asked for details of recent events and the number of additional troops sent to East Timor, Dr Mochtar said: "I don't think we have to explain what we are doing in our own country. I cannot give specific answers about the numbers (of troops)."

"I understand it's a rotation of troops basically, but nothing like the build-up reported by the Press."

Dr Mochtar then asked journalists not to press him further on the matter and said they should ask the Defence and Security Ministry.

(Defence spokesmen have so far declined publicly to confirm or deny reports of the uprising and subsequent fighting.)

A Jakarta-based news service correspondent had reported up to 20,000 troops were engaged in East Timor, but officials have since rejected the figure. They have confirmed that operations in East Timor have been "strengthened" with a relatively small number of troops and possibly extra helicopters.

AAP asked Dr Mochtar if developments in East Timor, incorporated as an Indonesian province in 1976, would jeopardise his efforts to gain Australian support at next month's expected UN debate on East Timorese self-sovereignty.

"I don't think things are happening there that are jeopardising anything," was his only comment.

Dr Mochtar criticised a sub-committee of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva which last week adopted a resolution critical of Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor.

He said the Australian Foreign Minister Mr Hayden, who last week expressed concern at the report of a massive troop increase, had since agreed it had little foundation, but this had come too late for the Geneva decision to be reversed.

"I hope Mr Hayden can send a message to the Commission saying it (the report of a large build-up) is not true," Dr Mochtar said.

— AAP

Official: Fighting in E Timor

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Dr Mochtar said he was convinced the United Nations General Assembly would drop the East Timor issue if it were raised in the forthcoming UN session.

Last year, the General Assembly passed by 50 votes to 46 a Portuguese-initiated resolution calling for self-determination for East Timor and the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from the territory.

In London, Bishop Martinko Da Costa Lopes, the former Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, is urging European governments to support his country's claim to independence from Indonesia.

Dom Martinho, 64, told a news conference that 200,000 people — one-third of East Timor's population — had been killed since Indonesia invaded it in 1975.

Page 12: Editorial — The Timor Barrier

AETA Newsletter

Newsletter of the Australia-East Timor Association
PO Box 93, Fitzroy, 3065, Australia

Vol. 8, No. 3
Sept. - Oct. 1983

Registered by Australia Post - publication no. VBH2322

ISSN 0156 - 1731

**Indonesia's 'final offensive' with
20,000 troops begins in**

EAST TIMOR

Australia must act!

The Hawke Government should **URGENTLY**:

- call on the Indonesian Government
to cease military aggression in East Timor
- request United Nations intervention
- cease military aid to Indonesia

Demonstration

Commonwealth Centre

corner of Spring and Latrobe Streets

Wednesday September 7

Assemble: 4.00 p.m. Speakers: 4.30 p.m.

Australia-East Timor Association, PO Box 93,
Fitzroy, 3065. Enquiries: c/- 419 5588.

CONTENTS

* Coming events * Close relations, too close! * Fretilin Tour * the 'delegation'
* Current Publications * Membership

coming....

OPEN MEETING

Our first bi-monthly meeting, for members and activists, will be held on Sunday September 11th. between 3 and 6pm at the Unitarian Church Hall, 110 Grey Street, East Melbourne (opposite the Mercy Hospital). The meeting is intended to bring people up-to-date on the local and international political situation; there will be a discussion about on-going campaign work and what you can do to help. We hope to show the film made by a Portuguese television documentary team and filmed in East Timor earlier this year. Maria de Lourdes Pintasigo, a former Portuguese Prime Minister and the Presidential aid on East Timor may be in Australia and hopefully will be available to address the meeting.

CAULFIELD C.A.A.

The Caulfield C.A.A. group is organising a film and discussion night on East Timor at the St. Kilda Library. Pat Walsh and someone from the Timorese community will address the meeting. The night will be held at the Community Room, St Kilda Library in Carlisle Street (between St Kilda Rd. and Chapel St.) on Wednesday 28th. September at 8.00 p.m. Admission is free and supper will be provided. Enquiries: 211 0145.

A VIEW FROM PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Bernard Narokobi, leading lawyer, patriot, poet, politician and former judge will speak to a meeting about regional politics. The meeting, sponsored by Asian Bureau Aust., Action for World Development and Pax Christi, will be held at St. Mary's College (entrance Swanston St. end of Melbourne University) on Tuesday September 20th at 7.45 p.m.. Admission is by donation.

AETA....AGM

The Annual General Meeting of the Australia-East Timor will be held on Wednesday October 12th. at 7.30 p.m. at the Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees' Union, 52 Victoria Street, Carlton (next to the Trades Hall). Notice is given

to members of the following proposed change to the constitution - that the following be added under the structure section: "Sub-branches may be established to cover local areas."

'CLOSE RELATIONS'... TOO CLOSE?

CIA INVOLVEMENT

Joan Coxsgedg has recently returned from her own fact-finding mission to the United States. Not surprisingly she found that the CIA masterminded the Indonesian invasion of East Timor with the "full connivance of Australia's secret agencies. Immediately after the invasion our intelligence chiefs continued to act as proxies for the United States Government rather than for Australia." She also found that the current U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia is listed in the 1982 Federal Congressional Staff Directory as working for the CIA since 1975. She claims that in view of Ambassador Holdridges presence in Jakarta and the "demonstrated close relations between our intelligence agencies, the Australian Government's real attitude to East Timor is a foregone conclusion...The only difference between Australia and so-called banana republics, is that we are not even a republic."

THE BENNY AND BILL SHOW -

Rumour has it that the leader of the Australian Parliamentary delegation to East Timor and Indonesia, Bill Morrison, is old mates with Benny Murdani - commander-in-chief of the Indonesian armed forces, architect of the invasion of East Timor and recent street killings in Java. They held concurrent diplomatic posts in Thailand some years ago and apparently Mr Morrison wasted no time on arrival in Jakarta, in paying his friend a 'private' visit. One wonders what they talked about, surely not old times!

FRETILIN TOUR

The Public Meeting to end all.....

"I've been going to meetings on all sorts of issues for 40 years and the East Timor meeting was one of the highlights of my life."

This was the comment of a unionist who came from Geelong to Melbourne and joined 1500 others at the Dallas Brooks Hall on July 31st. to demonstrate concern for East Timor to the Hawke government. The meeting, titled "Self-determination: Australia's Crucial Role", was organised by AETA and sponsored by over 20 organisations and Unions in Victoria. Abilio Araujo spoke about the realities facing FRETILIN fighters and their families in the bush, and all East Timorese, under the Indonesian military rule. Other speakers included representatives from the ALP and the Australian Democrats, and church, Timorese and aid groups.

Thanks go to all those people, on and off stage, who worked very hard to make the meeting a great success.

Resolutions calling on the Hawke government to actively support self-determination at the United Nations and to urge Jakarta not to launch a new offensive (alas!) were passed unanimously. Over 600 people registered their names for further information and/or activities and this is being followed up at present.

The meeting was not without its critics - too many politicians and no women at all on the stage being the most common complaint. But despite this, some parts of the meeting were especially moving; in particular, the showing of slides taken recently in East Timor. This was accompanied by comment and description from Abilio - a hush fell over the hall, as the aspirations of people came alive before us on the screen. The sentiment of the meeting is best expressed in words from the song that Phil Noyce composed and sang with a chorus of 1500: "Together we will struggle, together we will sing/ We'll fight for independence, defend the people's claims/ And scorn to live in slavery, bound down by iron chains"

The visit to Australia of Abilio Araujo and Roque Rodrigues was highly successful. Although, the Prime Minister Bob Hawke chose not to meet them, a meeting was held with ALP Federal parliamentarians. In Melbourne they met with the Premier John Cain and a state parliamentary reception was held. The Trades Hall Council passed a unanimous resolution in support of self-determination for East Timor. One of the biggest public meetings ever held outside East Timor was held in Melbourne on the Sunday.

Abilio has gone back to Portugal to continue his work and Roque left Australia for a tour of Pacific nations.

PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION FINDINGS a matter of interpretation.

The integrity of findings by the Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor have been questioned before the report has even been released to parliament. Due next week, the report has already drawn criticism from a journalist travelling with the party - he found that conversations recorded of an encounter between Morrison and a Fretilin soldier were misinterpreted; also, Senator MacIntosh, a member of the delegation, has decided to bring out a dissenting report. The following by a Timorese of past stage-managed visits, should leave no doubt as to the dubious credibility of any findings: "The Indonesians are skilled in outwitting the foreign delegations that come "to see" who are shown only what is intended and not the reality. ...The preparation for a foreign arrival is the most comical act that the Timorese know about the Indonesians. Once even the grave markers with the names of the dead killed in the war or by the Timorese resistance forces were removed. ...Patients with grave diseases or serious war wounds are sent to a mountain behind the Central Hospital...War tanks, armoured cars, and other war material is carefully hidden... The population is forced at gunpoint to go and make displays of happiness and giving "hurrahs".. Intermingled..are hundreds of Indonesian soldiers dressed as Timorese holding Indonesian flags shouting hurrahs for the integration."

current publications

East Timor - Betrayed But Not Beaten: written by AETA member Ian Bell, with the assistance of George Preston, and published by AETA, it is an invaluable handbook providing accessible information on East Timor. It takes a look at the historical background, the current situation - including some recent photographs, information on Australia's involvement, as well as on the role of the United Nations and the strategic significance of East Timor. This handbook unclutters available information on East Timor and makes an excellent quick reference guide. Available from AETA for \$1.00 plus 50c. postage, a 33% discount applies for bulk orders of 10 or more.

Timor - A People Betrayed by James Dunn, published by The Jacaranda Press. This book provides a detailed study of events in East Timor over the past eight years and the international response to the situation. It pays particular attention to Australia's part in the events as they transpired. Dunn's analysis includes interviews with Timorese refugees as well as defence and foreign-policy sources from Australia and the United States. James Dunn, who has had a long association with East Timor, has made a comprehensive study and has provided a much needed text on East Timor. Available from AETA at \$15.95, including packaging and postage within Australia.

Inside Indonesia, a new bi-monthly bulletin on Indonesian affairs published by the recently established Indonesia Resources and Information Programme - IRIP. This group comprises academic specialists in Indonesia and members of overseas aid agencies, development action groups and trade unions, and aims to promote mutual understanding and cooperation between the peoples of Indonesia and Australia. The first issue of Inside Indonesia due soon, will carry articles on the impact of the economic recession on the Indonesian people; labour relations; Indonesian women; human rights, and reviews of recent books and films on Indonesia. Available from IRIP c/- 183 Gertrude Street, Fitzroy, Vic, 3065. Phone 419 5588.

Timor Information Service - A regular publication which provides up-to-date information on the humanitarian and political situation in East Timor as well as the international situation in regard to East Timor. TIS has been operating since the invasion and has provided a valuable service to all those wishing to remain up-to-date on events regarding East Timor. Available from: PO Box 77, Clifton Hill, Vic, 3068. Subscriptions for 6 issues are within Australia - for institutions \$5 and individuals \$3 min. (more if you can afford it). Overseas rates are PNG, NZ, Oceania \$7; Asia \$10, Americas \$11, Europe and Africa \$12. All figures in Australian dollars.

IMPORTANT

All those readers who wish to remain on the mailing list and haven't taken out a subscription yet - could you please do so. Mailing costs, in particular, are becoming prohibitive! See the attached form.....

Join AETA now!

The most effective way of supporting the people of East Timor is through joining the Australia-East Timor Association and participating in its activities.

The Secretary
AETA
PO Box 93
Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065

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Individuals \$5.00
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Organisations \$20.00

Please find enclosed cheque/money order for \$ _____ *, being one year's subscription to AETA, plus \$ _____ donation.

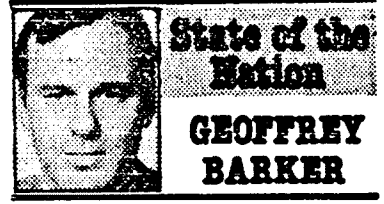
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Timor: the key questions remain unanswered



ANSWERS to two basic questions are critical to any reasoned assessment of the international acceptability of Indonesia's take-over of East Timor.

First, would most East Timorese have chosen annexation by Indonesia in a free, open and internationally supervised act of self-determination? Second, are most East Timorese now well treated and content under Indonesian rule?

A clear "yes" to the second question might (in some circumstances) go towards cancelling our concern about Indonesia's refusal to allow a genuine act of self-determination (although you might think that the Indonesians would be prepared to do so if they believed the East Timorese now were happy citizens of the 27th province). A clear "yes" might even help mitigate some worries about persistent reports of Indonesian savagery during and since the invasion eight years ago.

There is, unhappily, little evidence in the report of the recent Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor to suggest that Mr Bill Morrison and his colleagues made any concerted attempt to seek answers to the two questions above.

Mr Morrison's claim that the delegation was a "fact-finding mission" which regarded its main purpose as "describing to the best of its ability the situation in East Timor" is therefore, hollow. We are still ignorant of the wishes and attitudes of the East Timorese.

The delegation report notes (page 9) that "the delegation was not prevented from talking to any person it approached" during the six days it spent on Timor. It further notes (page 53) that on the prison island of Aturo "... the people were not cowed; they did approach the delegation willingly and in large numbers to present their views".

So why did the delegation not keep asking the Timorese the two questions listed above? The responses might not have produced conclusive answers, but they

would have had some value if each of the five delegation members had persisted in putting those questions to the East Timorese who turned out to meet them at various places (see pages 44-55 of the report).

The reasons for the delegation's reticence are clear from both the structure and content of the report. In fact the members were only marginally interested in the political and human rights of the East Timorese.

Despite some vaguely critical remarks about personal rights and freedoms in East Timor (page 15, 30-34) the overwhelming purpose of the mission was (a) to provide evidential support for the Government's abandonment of ALP policy which supports the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination (b) to establish the priority of what the Government perceives to be "good" relations between Australia and Indonesia, and (c) to clear the way for the Labor Government to follow the previous Government in voting with Indonesia if the United Nations General Assembly considers the Timor issue again later this year.

The last-minute appearance of a dissenting report from the Left-wing ALP senator Gordon McIntosh, and a split report from the Senate committee that investigated conditions in East Timor, indicates the depth of feeling within the Labor Party. Despite Opposition support for the thrust of Government policy, the issue seems certain to continue to divide the Government deeply on issues as fundamental as the status of established party policy and the place of human rights considerations in foreign policy determination.

The priorities and interests of the parliamentary delegation emerge clearly from the first four

pages of its report, which discusses Australia's relations with Indonesia. "The Indonesians certainly regard the Timor question as a critical test of Australian-Indonesian relations, indicating that if differences persist the whole relationship will suffer ... Australians must therefore attempt to understand how central an issue Timor is to Indonesia's measurement of its relations with Australia."

The comment concludes: "In one way Australia's position does not count ... Indonesia ... regards the 1976 Act of Incorporation of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia as final and irreversible ... an Australian vote (at the UN) would not alter the situation in East Timor. Such a vote would in fact diminish any role that Australia could play in East Timor and Indonesia as a whole."

In adopting this framework of assumptions the delegation adopted what is frequently described as the "realistic" view. On this view the political and legal rights of the East Timorese are to be regarded as subordinate to a higher priority and it is not the business of the delegation to go about asking the East Timorese questions about how they felt and what they wanted. Indeed Mr Morrison told Parliament on Tuesday that "any Australian Government must face up to the realities". (In Jakarta, according to the delegation report (Appendix 3, page 96) he told officials of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute that "it was difficult for the Australian Government to know what to do". This was after Mr Buyung Nausution, chairman of the institute, told the delegation that "in Indonesia the intellectuals at least would reject the incorporation of East Timor, which they found shameful and sad" (page 95).

But how persuasive, really, is the so-called "realistic" view. It holds briefly that (a) Indonesia is our biggest and closest neighbor; (b) that good relations between Australia and Indonesia will suffer if Australia continues to oppose the East Timor take-over (c) that a UN vote against Indonesia would alter nothing in East Timor; (d) that it would therefore be futile for Australia to vote against the Indo-

nesians or even to abstain and (e) that by maintaining "good" relations with Indonesia Australia will be most likely to be able to exercise influence beneficial to the East Timorese.

A basic confusion in this view seems to me the failure to distinguish between what moral philosophers in other contexts have called the distinction between harming and not helping. I think the distinction can be stretched to cover Australian-Indonesian relations.

To acknowledge that the Indonesian incorporation of East Timor is a fait accompli is just to recognise that there is little we can do to help establish the political desires or to secure the political rights of the East Timorese in the present circumstances.

But we should not confuse that impotence with our positive power to possibly harm the East Timorese by helping to legitimise the Indonesian take-over by our vote in the UN

If, as the report says, it is important for Australians to be sensitive to the different "value system" that operates in Indonesia, it seems to me reasonable to demand the same understanding by the Indonesians for our value system. If relations between the two countries are "good" we ought to be able to say to the Indonesians that we recognise there is little we can do about East Timor, but the Indonesians cannot expect us to help give international respectability to what they have done.

It is far from self-evident that Australia is most likely to be able to exert influence to the possible benefit of the East Timorese if it simply goes along with the Indonesian actions.

These views do not imply, as the 'Financial Review' suggested on Thursday, that opponents of the "realistic" policy would rather see East Timorese languish in jail. Nor is it necessarily to encourage a tiny minority in a futile resistance. It does, however, imply that Australia should not lightly consign the East Timorese to oblivion because it is too difficult to do anything else without offending the value system of the Indonesians. We too have a value system that is worth something and is entitled to some respect from the Indonesians.

The Timor barrier

THE REPORT of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation's visit to Indonesia and East Timor, tabled in the House this week by the delegation leader, Mr W. L. Morrison, is a sound and honest document. Its integrity is not compromised by the minority report appended to it by Senator Gordon McIntosh after his meeting on Sunday, August 21, with the hard line left of his party, a report he did not himself write as, in Parliament, Mr Morrison was quick to state and Mr Dobie to confirm. It was a report in which the Senator in fact reversed the position he had freely of his own will adopted with the rest of the delegation when they were seeking consensus.

The document is honest because it faithfully records where the delegation went, whom it saw and what it was told in lengthy, comprehensive conversations. It is accurate in reporting that the Indonesian Government with 3,200 troops, half of them Timorese, effectively controls the Province. It is accurate in reporting the encouraging results, clearly observed by the delegation and the accompanying press, of Indonesia's high level of expenditure on development and of its efforts to make up for past neglect and human rights violations in the Province. It is accurate in its assertion that while Fretilin elements are still around they are finished as a force.

Generation of bitterness

The burden of the report's findings is that East Timor is unalterably part of the Indonesian Republic. The implication of the findings is that it would be sheer political madness on the part of Australia — in response to the ill-considered 1982 ALP conference resolution — to seek unilaterally, or through changing its vote on the East Timor issue at the UN, to reverse its previous recognition of the Province's incorporation into the Republic. A change of vote, advocated by a number in this country, including Senator McIntosh as Chairman of the Senate Committee on East Timor, would achieve two things.

It would create a generation of bitter misunderstanding between Indonesia and Australia. It would end any chance Australia might have of helping maintain

Indonesia's interest in redressing the balance in East Timor. Those so ready to criticise Indonesia over East Timor should bear in mind that Indonesia, a highly nationalistic nation of political and moral values radically different from those of Australia, is not insensitive to either world opinion or to Australia's.

How would we feel?

Indonesia has shown a sensitive regard for Australian feelings in allowing an Australian Parliamentary Delegation to visit East Timor. It is fair to ask whether the Australian Government, in a similar situation, would be prepared to override the predictable objections of Queensland to a proposed visit by an Indonesian Parliamentary delegation, replete with interpreters of its own choosing, to investigate the conditions of that State's Aboriginal reserves and report back on them to the Indonesian Parliament.

What then of the future? Those Australians who have been violent critics of Indonesia's East Timor intervention, including journalists outraged by the Bali-bu murders, are probably relatively few in number and not, in the final count, able to change Government policy on Indonesia. By the same token it would be a mistake to under-estimate the degree to which they reflect a deep undercurrent of mistrust — born of white cultural and political isolationism — which is directed not only towards Indonesia but Asia at large.

Admittedly it is very difficult for an Australian society, predominantly white, Christian, speaking one language and subscribing to Western, democratic ideals — handed us on a platter

from distant Europe — to accept societies too often appearing to entrench inequalities, perpetuate injustices and resort to repression as a normal political mode. Up to a point these perceptions of ours are valid. They are also dangerously moralistic. Not a single ASEAN state is democratic or egalitarian in our sense.

In highly survivalist societies ends justify means all too readily. For evidence of this one need look no further than to the extra-judicial role of Indonesian Army hit squads in murdering, in the name of law and order, known criminals or to the squalid airport murder of Ninoy Aquino or to the Dickensian conditions of child labour in Thailand or to Vietnam's New Economic Zones where dis-senting thousands languish.

A workable relationship

None of these societies feel that they can afford democracy even if many living in them yearn for it. In pluralistic societies divided by language, religion and frequently fierce ethnic conflict, democracy appears a dangerous luxury and those who criticise them for not practising it seem both censorious and unreasonable. And yet if Australia cannot slip its European shackles to discover a workable relationship with its neighbours in which it maintains its own standards and values without seeking to impose them on others, sometimes with a shrill insensitivity, it will become increasingly irrelevant and steadily poorer in the area with which its political and economic future is inextricably bound. One way towards establishing a *modus vivendi*, perhaps the only way, is through growing trade relationships with South-East Asia, a collection of diverse, sovereign nations, and the globe's fastest economic growth area.

In the last ten years the per capita income of Indonesia and South Korea, for example, has increased dramatically compared with Australia while in East Asia and South-East Asia generally economic growth rates have maintained surprising momentum despite the oil and commodity prices slump. These impressive figures admittedly reflect growth rates commencing from a far lower base than Australia's but they also indicate the shape of things to come.

Various countries and cities to our north are rapidly developing markets for manufactured goods of a sort we make well, for a middle level and above technology which we can provide and for a variety of Australian developed skills and services ranging from accounting to agricultural extension work. There are probably 500 or more Australian companies established in various parts of South-East Asia, principally Singapore. The range, design and proven efficiency of many Australian manufactured goods going to South-East Asia are still superior to those of any other Asian manufacturer with the obvious exception of Japan.

A change of direction

But to exploit these undoubted opportunities requires a critical change of direction and a form of casting adrift from Western preoccupations. It will not mean abandoning Western values and judgments. They are the only ones we know but it will mean a consciously deliberate rejection

of certain assumptions about our predestined role in the western world. It will also mean a greater acceptance of Asian neighbours and values. On the face of it this seems unlikely for it will require a new approach to fundamental issues on which we find ourselves increasingly at variance with our South-East Asian neighbours — on trade and tariff policies generally, on immigration, civil aviation and, of course, human rights questions which will intrude no matter how promising new directions in trade may appear. Expressions of future goodwill on these issues will not be enough. They never were.

S. MIT 10/9

Fretilin, army clash again, ^{AGE} 10/9/83 says Jakarta

JAKARTA, 9 Sept. — The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, today cautiously confirmed that hostilities had resumed between the military and the East Timor independence group Fretilin.

He also said he hoped his Australian counterpart, Mr Hayden, would advise the Human Rights Commission that its recent criticism of Indonesia was based on inaccurate Press reports of a huge troops build-up in East Timor.

Dr Mochtar's brief public statement on current hostilities, the first by a senior Government official, came during intensive questioning by foreign and Indonesian journalists at a Press conference.

Asked what was happening in East Timor, he said: "There was some ambush of some sort, and if the military decided to take some action, I think it is within our own right. The whole thing was blown up out of proportion."

He declined to specify whether this referred to an uprising by Fretilin rebels on a farming settlement on 8 August in which between 12 and 15 Indonesian troops were killed.

Senior sources earlier confirmed that Indonesia had stepped up operations against Fretilin rebels who had also staged several attacks since the 8 August uprising.

Asked for details of recent events and the number of additional troops sent to East Timor, Dr Mochtar said: "I don't think we have to explain what we are doing in our own country. I cannot give specific answers about the numbers (of troops).

"I understand it's a rotation of troops basically, but nothing like the build-up reported by the Press."

Dr Mochtar then asked journalists not to press him further on the matter and said they should ask the Defence and Security Ministry.

(Defence spokesmen have so far declined publicly to confirm or deny reports of the uprising and subsequent fighting.)

A Jakarta-based news service correspondent had reported up to 20,000 troops were engaged in East Timor, but officials have since rejected the figure. They have confirmed that operations in East Timor have been "strengthened" with a relatively small number of troops and possibly extra helicopters.

AAP asked Dr Mochtar if developments in East Timor, incorporated as an Indonesian province in 1976, would jeopardise his efforts to gain Australian support at next month's expected UN debate on East Timorese self-sovereignty.

"I don't think things are happening there that are jeopardising anything," was his only comment.

Dr Mochtar criticised a sub-committee of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva which last week adopted a resolution critical of Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor.

He said the Australian Foreign Minister Mr Hayden, who last week expressed concern at the report of a massive troop increase, had since agreed it had little foundation, but this had come too late for the Geneva decision to be reversed.

"I hope Mr Hayden can send a message to the Commission saying it (the report of a large build-up) is not true," Dr Mochtar said.

Timor report a whitewash, says bishop

From KARL WILSON in London

The Australian 10-11 Sept. 1983

THE former Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Monsignor da Costa Lopes, has described an Australian parliamentary report recommending the Government to accept Indonesian control of the former Portuguese colony, as a "whitewash of the true facts".

The five-man bipartisan delegation, headed by the former Labor minister, Mr Bill Morrison, visited East Timor in July and August to investigate conditions since the 1976 invasion.

Its report, presented to Parliament on Tuesday, said Indonesia was doing a great deal to develop East Timor and the security situation was "quite relaxed".

Monsignor Lopes, who left the island in May after 10 years, said the true picture was quite the reverse.

He said: "I doubt very much whether the East Timorese people will ever trust the Australians.

"Mr Hawke, before he became Prime Minister, made many statements about East Timor and the people's right to self-determination but now it appears he is about to turn his back on the whole issue.

"I believe it is only a matter of time before the Australian Government accepts Indonesia's right over the island. What will make it worse is that it will be a Labor Government that does it.

"The Australian Government is afraid of the Indonesians, afraid of losing trade and commercial links."

Monsignor Lopes, who is on a European tour seeking support for the East Timorese, said the "bloodletting" had not stopped on the island since the Indonesians first invaded in December, 1975.

"At that time, according to UN figures, there were over 600,000 people on East Timor," he said.

"Today that figure has been

cut by a third. Although some people put the death toll at around 100,000 since the invasion, I believe it is much higher than that - 200,000 would be conservative.

"The fighting goes on, no matter what the Indonesians say or what politicians and some journalists are shown.

"I know for a fact that only a few weeks ago Indonesia launched its biggest offensive in four years against Fretilin guerillas using some 20,000 troops.

Embarrassment

"Yes, Fretilin is still fighting and will continue to fight.

"The people want to be independent. It is in their hearts. And what is in their hearts cannot be beaten out of them.

"When the Indonesians invaded they sent 80 battalions (80,000 troops) to 'clean out', as they put it, a small group of guerillas.

"That handful still exists

today - some 8600 of them. God only knows how many there were at the beginning."

Monsignor Lopes, who led the Roman Catholic church on East Timor since 1975, has been an outspoken critic of the Indonesians.

His views often led him into conflict with the Indonesian Government and his own church.

The Vatican advised the 64-year-old bishop to resign earlier this year. He was not given a reason. But according to senior church sources the decision was political.

He had become an embarrassment to the church - particularly in Indonesia

Even the Australian bishops have refused to give Monsignor Lopes a formal invitation to visit Australia. He intends to visit Australia shortly but he will be going at the invitation not of the bishops but of groups concerned with the plight of the Timorese.

UN vote on human rights 'regrettable'

JAKARTA: It was regrettable the United Nations had denounced so-called violations of human rights in East Timor on grounds based on "mere press reports", the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, said yesterday.

Referring to the recent nine-votes-to-seven decision in Geneva by the Basic Human Rights Commission, Dr Mochtar said the majority for the resolution resulted from sponsors citing reports about a new large movement of Indonesian troops to East Timor and about the alleged existence of a secret manual for troops on ways of using torture on insurgents.

The document on torture referred to by Dr Mochtar was first reported by the human rights organisation Amnesty International.

Agence France-Presse

10/9/83

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Official: Fighting in E Timor

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Dr Mochtar was asked if developments in East Timor, incorporat-

ed as an Indonesian province in 1976, would jeopardise his efforts to gain Australian support at next month's expected UN debate on East Timorese self-sovereignty.

"I don't think things are happening there that are jeopardising anything," was his only comment.

He said the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, who last week expressed concern at the report of a massive troop increase, had since agreed it had little foundation.

Dr Mochtar said he was convinced the United Nations General Assembly would drop the East Timor issue if it were raised in the forthcoming UN session.

Last year, the General Assembly passed by 50 votes to 46 a Portuguese-initiated resolution calling for self-determination for East Timor and the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from the territory.

In London, Bishop Martinko Da Costa Lopes, the former Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, is urging European governments to support his country's claim to independence from Indonesia.

Dom Martinho, 64, told a news conference that 200,000 people — one-third of East Timor's population — had been killed since Indonesia invaded it in 1975.

Page 12: Editorial — The Timor Barrier

Age Sept 1977

Timorese have right to independence: UN body

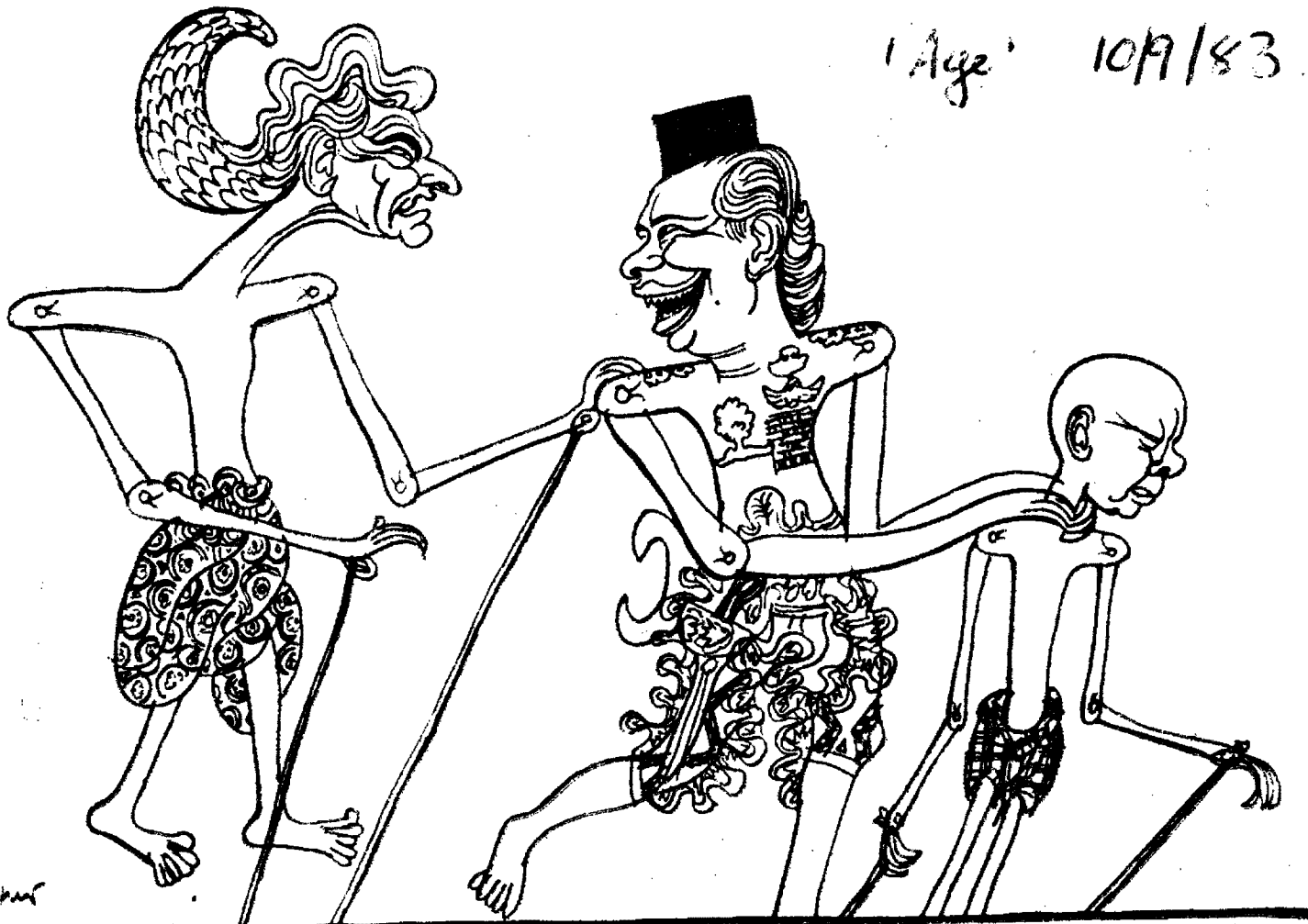
GENEVA, 7 September. — A United Nations human rights sub-committee today adopted a resolution “reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence”.

The resolution called on the UN Secretary-General to step up “efforts to reach a stable solution, taking into consideration the interests of the people of East Timor”.

East Timor was merged with Indonesia by a Presidential decree in July 1976 after an invasion by Indonesian “volunteer” troops who said they had been called in by the local people.

The resolution came after urgent requests for humanitarian aid against “genocide” by Indonesian occupation forces.

A representative of the International League for the Rights and Liberation of People said East Timor was suffering from massacres, repression and torture by Indonesian troops. AAP-AFP



EAST TIMOR SHADOW PLAY: An updated version of the traditional puppet drama in which Good confronts Evil, and puts in place a friendly and constructive basis in respect of their relations.

Timor: the key questions remain unanswered

ANSWERS to two basic questions are critical to any reasoned assessment of the international acceptability of Indonesia's takeover of East Timor.

First, would most East Timorese have chosen annexation by Indonesia in a free, open and internationally supervised act of self-determination? Second, are most East Timorese now well treated and content under Indonesian rule?

A clear "yes" to the second question might (in some circumstances) go towards cancelling out concern about Indonesia's refusal to allow a genuine act of self-determination (although you might think that the Indonesians would be prepared to do so if they believed the East Timorese now were happy citizens of the 27th province). A clear "yes" might even help mitigate some worries about persistent reports of Indonesian savagery during and since the invasion eight years ago.

There is, unhappily, little evidence in the report of the recent Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor to suggest that Mr Bill Morrison and his colleagues made any concerted attempt to seek answers to these two questions.

Mr Morrison's claim that the delegation was a "fact-finding mission" which regarded its main purpose as "describing to the best of its ability the situation in East Timor" is therefore, hollow. We are still ignorant of the wishes and attitudes of the East Timorese.

The delegation report notes (page 9) that "the delegation was not prevented from talking to any person it approached" during the six days it spent on Timor. It further notes (page 53) that on the prison island of Aturo "... the people were not cowed; they did approach the delegation willingly and in large numbers to present their views".

So why did the delegation not keep asking the Timorese the two questions listed above? The responses might not have produced conclusive answers, but they



State of the Nation
GEOFFREY BARKER

would have had some value if each of the five delegation members had persisted in putting those questions to the East Timorese who turned out to meet them at various places (see pages 44-55 of the report).

The reasons for the delegation's reticence are clear from both the structure and content of the report. In fact the members were only marginally interested in the political and human rights of the East Timorese.

Despite some vaguely critical remarks about personal rights and freedoms in East Timor (page 15, 30-34) the overwhelming purpose of the mission was (a) to provide evidential support for the Government's abandonment of ALP policy which supports the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination (b) to establish the priority of what the Government perceives to be "good" relations between Australia and Indonesia, and (c) to clear the way for the Labor Government to follow the previous Government in voting with Indonesia if the United Nations General Assembly considers the Timor issue again later this year.

The last-minute appearance of a dissenting report from the Left-wing ALP Senator Gordon McIntosh, and a split report from the Senate committee that investigated conditions in East Timor, indicates the depth of feeling within the Labor Party. Despite Opposition support for the thrust of Government policy, the issue seems certain to continue to divide the Government deeply on issues as fundamental as the status of established party policy and the place of human rights considerations in foreign policy determination.

The priorities and interests of the parliamentary delegation emerge clearly from the first four

pages of its report, which discusses Australia's relations with Indonesia. "The Indonesians certainly regard the Timor question as a critical test of Australian-Indonesian relations, indicating that if differences persist the whole relationship will suffer ... Australians must therefore attempt to understand how central an issue Timor is to Indonesia's measurement of its relations with Australia."

The comment concludes: "In one way Australia's position does not count ... Indonesia ... regards the 1976 Act of Incorporation of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia as final and irreversible ... an Australian vote (at the UN) would not alter the situation in East Timor. Such a vote would in fact diminish any role that Australia could play in East Timor and Indonesia as a whole."

In adopting this framework of assumptions the delegation adopted what is frequently described as the "realistic" view. On this view the political and legal rights of the East Timorese are to be regarded as subordinate to a higher priority and it is not the business of the delegation to go about asking the East Timorese questions about how they felt and what they wanted. Indeed Mr Morrison told Parliament on Tuesday that "any Australian Government must face up to the realities". (In Jakarta, according to the delegation report (Appendix 3, page 96) he told officials of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute that "it was difficult for the Australian Government to know what to do". This was after Mr Buyung Nausution, chairman of the institute, told the delegation that "in Indonesia the intellectuals at least would reject the incorporation of East Timor, which they found shameful and sad" (page 95).

But how persuasive, really, is the so-called "realistic" view. It holds briefly that (a) Indonesia is our biggest and closest neighbor; (b) that good relations between Australia and Indonesia will suffer if Australia continues to oppose the East Timor takeover (c) that a UN vote against Indonesia would alter nothing in East Timor; (d) that it would therefore be futile for Australia to vote against the Indo-

nesians or even to abstain and (e) that by maintaining "good" relations with Indonesia Australia will be most likely to be able to exercise influence beneficial to the East Timorese.

A basic confusion in this view seems to me the failure to distinguish between what moral philosophers in other contexts have called the distinction between harming and not helping. I think the distinction can be stretched to cover Australian-Indonesian relations.

To acknowledge that the Indonesian incorporation of East Timor is a fait accompli is just to recognise that there is little we can do to help establish the political desires or to secure the political rights of the East Timorese in the present circumstances.

But we should not confuse that impotence with our positive power to possibly harm the East Timorese by helping to legitimise the Indonesian takeover by our vote in the UN

If, as the report says, it is important for Australians to be sensitive to the different "value system" that operates in Indonesia, it seems to me reasonable to demand the same understanding by the Indonesians for our value system. If relations between the two countries are "good" we ought to be able to say to the Indonesians that we recognise there is little we can do about East Timor, but the Indonesians cannot expect us to help give international respectability to what they have done.

It is far from self-evident that Australia is most likely to be able to exert influence to the possible benefit of the East Timorese if it simply goes along with the Indonesian actions.

These views do not imply, as the 'Financial Review' suggested on Thursday, that opponents of the "realistic" policy would rather see East Timorese languish in jail. Nor is it necessarily to encourage a tiny minority in a futile resistance. It does, however, imply that Australia should not lightly consign the East Timorese to oblivion because it is too difficult to do anything else without offending the value system of the Indonesians. We too have a value system that is worth something and is entitled to some respect from the Indonesians.

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Garuda T. 10/19

Invitation to Pope

JAKARTA, Friday (AAP-AFP). — Indonesia would issue an invitation to the Pope to visit the country next year, a spokesman for the Indonesian Roman Catholic Church Council said.

Timor: telling insight

There are few people in Australia competent to comment on Mr Dunn's book. This reviewer is not one of them. Such ignorance is a revelation of our parochialism and moral immaturity.

The island of Timor is our near neighbour. Its people have been involved in our history. At the end of 1941 Dutch and Australian troops occupied the then Portuguese colony of East Timor. Their justification was that it was vulnerable to Japanese force, which the Allies saw as an intolerable danger to themselves.

Thirty-four years later the Indonesians launched a pre-emptive invasion of the same territory. They claimed that the weakness of the new administration was an open invitation to Communist dominance.

One of the virtues of the book is that it can force Australians to face a moral issue in international affairs. The practical question is thorny enough: was there a threat to Indonesia — and to Australia? The moral question is more difficult: does a threat to itself justify Indonesia's intervention — or Australia's complaisance?

An official in Canberra put it bluntly from Australia's point of view: it is 700,000 Timorese against 130,000,000 Indonesians.

We can easily leap on our white chargers with a whoop and a holler and denounce the "might is right" tactics of Indonesia. There are plenty of convenient labels to obviate thought or moral choice.

These will save asking the question: is weakness right? The reviewer once heard the then president of the World Bank say — after looking around the room to be sure that all his hearers were white — that some countries have no right to exist. Their weakness makes them viable only by sacrifices from others they have no right to demand.

Mr Dunn does not subscribe to any of these versions of real politik. His subtitle indicates his position, and he argues his case strongly — that the people of East Timor are a people who wanted to be a country, deserved to be a country, and could have been a country without any undue

sacrifice from Indonesia or Australia.

His exposition of recent events in Timor forces us all to debate issues beyond the facts. As those events occurred we were immersed in our own political circus. The demise of a nascent State, and the sadder demise of many of its people, troubled us hardly at all. Mr Dunn has spent much of his time since then trying to penetrate the hard rind of our national conscience.

Even those who do not accept his assessment of the situation must be grateful to him for his presentation of the case and his insistence on the need for a principled approach.

He knows the story. He was in Timor more than once at the relevant times; and he has kept close to the leading actors in Australia, Indonesia and Portugal and at the United Nations. He tells it all with clarity, force and compassion.

Taking account of our ignorance, he gives us a brief, but comprehensive, history of the colonial past of East Timor. It is pleasant to see the complete absence of the usual Anglo-Saxon prejudice against Iberian missions and colonies. This disposes one to accept the honesty of his reporting.

This does not mean that his is not partisan. There is never any doubt that the Indonesians are imperialists, the Australians cynical and Fretilin right. Even when the latter imprison their opponents, they "had to look after a large number of prisoners". However, when discussing the Timorese parties, there is no argumentative abuse.

Australians will find helpful the glossary of terms and the identification of persons. Fretilin is the only group we hear of now, but UDT and Apodeti came up constantly in 1974-75.

Dunn tells us what they were and how they developed. He gives useful dossiers on the leaders, some of whom have turned up since in new roles.

Readers of *The Leader* will find useful the account of various Catholic persons and institutions in the gaining and losing of Timorese independence. It may help them to sort out their responses to the continuing conflict in statements from Church parties in Timor, Indonesia and Australia.

Dunn tells us that Timor has caused a major rift among Australian Roman Catholics. That this is hardly true, despite diverging attitudes among spokesmen, reveals our moral failure. We talk endlessly in Prayers of the Faithful about those struggling for justice and peace. James Dunn's book will help us begin to be realistic about our piety.

(Reviewed by Fr T. P. Boland.)

TIMOR: A PEOPLE BETRAYED

By James Dunn.
Jacaranda, 1984, \$15.95.

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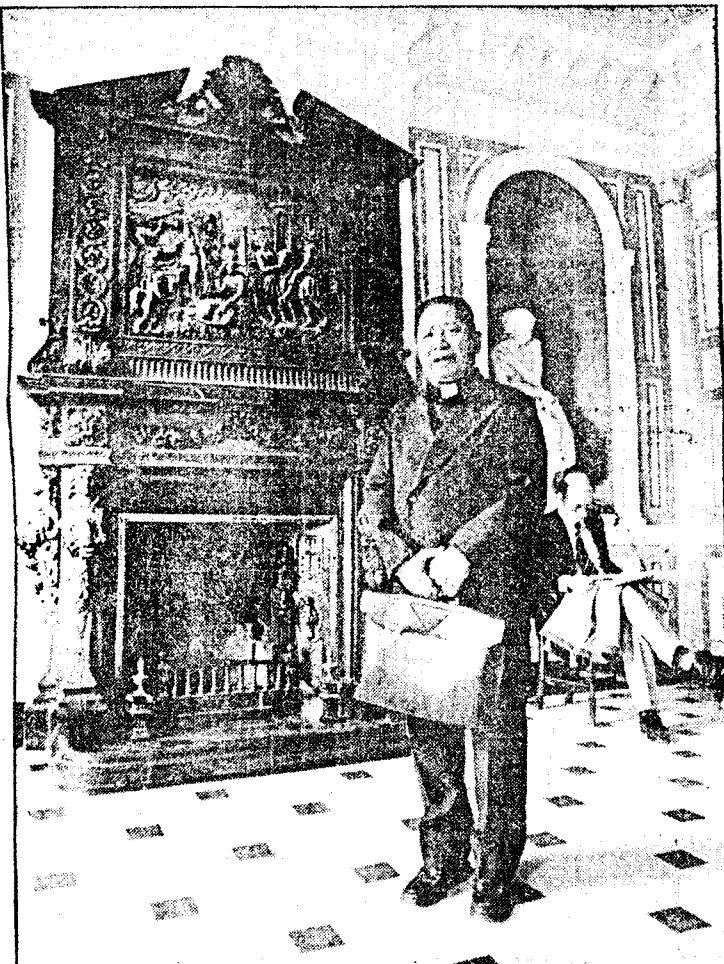
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Bishop 'asked to resign' backs Timor resistance



Bishop Martinho Lopes da Costa in Dublin last week

by BRIAN TRENCH

AN ASIAN bishop who visited Dublin last week has been the target of several assassination contracts. But when Indonesian government agents asked people in East Timor — part of the Indonesian archipelago — to kill Monsignor Martinho Lopes da Costa they immediately came and told him.

Mgr Lopes da Costa was acting bishop of Dili, capital of East Timor, until earlier this summer when he was "advised by the Vatican to resign." He could not, or would not, confirm in Dublin that the Vatican's request followed representations from the Indonesian government.

However, he has been a key figure in the resistance by the East Timorese to annexation by Indonesia, holding his church independent of the Indonesian church so that he could report directly to the Vatican.

The former Portuguese colony — half of an island, about the size of Munster, with an estimated population of 600,000 was invaded by the Indonesian army in 1975. A

political and military struggle for independence, led by FRETILIN, has continued ever since.

According to Mgr. Lopes da Costa, confrontations between the 20,000-30,000 Indonesian troops and the 8,000-strong FRETILIN forces started again last month after a truce of several months.

The bishop was in Dublin to ask for continuing Irish government support for East Timorese independence. Ireland switched

from earlier abstention on the issue, at successive UN General Assemblies, to supporting resolutions in favour of UN intervention to secure self-determination during the past year.

Mgr Lopes da Costa is critical of the United Nations for not seizing the opportunity of the informal truce to bring about a permanent cease-fire in a war which has cost between 100,000 and 300,000 lives, according to the varying estimates.

Now, he says, the Indonesians have started the mass arrests again, filling up the two concentration camps which had begun to empty. And FRETILIN forces last month staged a raid on an army base, seizing 60 machine guns and killing six soldiers.

Contrary to reports apparently inspired by Indonesian authorities, FRETILIN has not in any way shifted ground on its demand for self-determination, Mgr Lopes da Costa insists.

According to letters received by Timorese refugees in Lisbon, the new Indonesian offensive has been set into motion over the entire half-island territory in a last-ditch effort by Jakarta to wipe out FRETILIN.

Confirming the reports — including the abrupt cancellation of two International Red Cross Committee flights due to carry out more refugees — the British Liberal Lord Avebury, told reporters in Lisbon last week: "the situation is very pessimistic. Refugees here are terrified for their families."

Lord Avebury was in Portugal to present the Socialist/Social Democrat government with a petition signed by 200 European parliamentarians calling for Timorese self-rule. There are 12 Irish signatories to the document.

One letter received in Lisbon said a possible trigger for the new Indonesian sweep may have been a FRETILIN attack on Indonesian patrols last month in which eleven Indonesian soldiers, including a major, were killed.

Other Timorese sources explained the attack followed the arrest, torture and killing of two FRETILIN fighters, openly breaking the cease-fire signed last march between Jakarta's troops and the independence movement.

Indonesian Defence Minister Benny Murdani said last month: "We will not tolerate any more games this time around, and we will show no mercy. I cannot let the country's unity be destroyed."

Sunday
Irish Sun

Sept. 11th
1983.

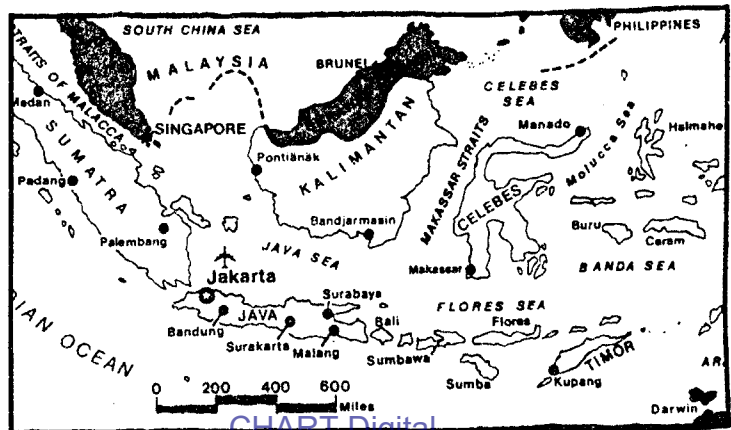


CHART Digital

Jakarta on harmony with Aust

The Indonesian Embassy has claimed that the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, told President Soeharto in June that Australia "understood efforts and problems faced by Indonesia on the East Timor issue."

In its August newsletter, the Embassy says Mr Hawke "had responded well to President Soeharto's explanation and had confirmed his Government's stand that Australia must have a close and harmonious relationship with Indonesia as its nearest neighbour."

It went on: "Mr Hawke had not explicitly explained his stand on the East Timor question to be taken at the United Nations... but he said that close co-operation between Indonesia and Australia is most important so that things which could cause damage to the good relations were not expected to happen."

The newsletter based its information on a briefing given to Jakarta media by the "State Minister-State Secretary," Mr Soedharmono.

It also claims that Mr Hawke told the Indonesian Government that "both sides had the ability to resolve differences, so that there would be no obstacle to the future development of an important relationship between Indonesia and Australia."

The Australian Government has yet to declare officially whether it will back Indonesia on the East Timor issue in the UN.

This is seen as a potential watershed in relations between the Hawke and Soeharto Governments.

— Deborah Snow

letter
Direct Action
(SWP weekly)
13/9/83

CIA operative

Several weeks ago I returned from a working visit to the United States. During that period I uncovered evidence that the present US Ambassador to Indonesia, John H Holdridge, is a top CIA operative.

Holdridge is quite openly listed in the 1982 Federal Congressional Staff Directory as working for the CIA since 1975.

In April 1981, he was successively nominated Assistant Secretary of State for South East Asia and Pacific Affairs, prior to his current appointment as the senior US diplomat in the Asian and Pacific region, which includes Australia.

Holdridge's appointment by the Reagan Administration is an extraordinary demonstration of blatant high-level CIA involvement in the Asian area, obviously to ensure that Indonesian policy continues to operate in the interest of the United States. He is the man who dictates Australian policy towards East Timor.

Recently published documents confirm that the CIA masterminded the bloody Indonesian invasion of East Timor in December 1975 with the full connivance of Australia's secret agencies. Immediately after that invasion, our intelligence chiefs continued to be abjectly subservient to the Indonesian Generals, and continued to act as proxies for the United States Government rather than for Australia.

In view of the presence of John Holdridge as a senior CIA man directing US policy out of Jakarta and of the demonstrated close links between our intelligence agencies, the Australian Government's real attitude to East Timor is a foregone conclusion.

The recent "fact-finding" mission to East Timor can therefore only be seen as a hollow sham, despite the good intentions of some of its members.

Regardless of the lies fed to the Australian people, we are not and never have been independent observers of the East Timor tragedy, but are active partners in an act of genocide against them.

By every known definition of the word, our secret agencies have betrayed the interests of the Australian people and are agents of a foreign power, the United States of America. In going along with these criminals, our government is fast losing whatever international credibility it may have had at the time of the election.

The only difference between Australia and so-called banana republics, is that we are not even a republic.

Joan Coxsedg
MLC, Victoria

Picket demands ALP support for East Timor

By Ralph Wilson

MELBOURNE—A September 7 demonstration outside the Commonwealth Centre protested against the failure of the Hawke government to implement ALP policy on East Timor.

More than 100 people heard labor movement and other speakers call for solidarity with Fretilin, and a delegation went inside to convey the feeling of the meeting to the federal government.

Speakers included Solange Shapiro (Victorian ALP junior vice president), Joan Coxsedg (Labor MLA for Melbourne West), George Preston (Australia-East Timor Association chairman), Pat Walsh (from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid), and Joe Gonzalez (from the East Timorese community in Melbourne).

The meeting heard about the latest Indonesian offensive, which involves up to 20,000 troops.

The rally rejected the bogus report

DIRECT ACTION 13/9/83

of the recent parliamentary delegation to East Timor and demanded that the Australian government take much stronger measures to support the East Timorese people's fundamental right to self-determination.

Report of Australian parliamentary delegation 'irrelevant'

C. TIMES
14/9/83

200 East Timorese killed: aid council

MELBOURNE: Indonesian troops had killed about 200 people in an East Timor village last month, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid said yesterday.

Mr Pat Walsh, East Timor consultant to the council, told a press conference that Roman Catholic Church sources in East Timor had confirmed that about 15 Indonesian soldiers were killed and 20 others severely wounded in an incident in August in the Viqueque area.

Indonesian soldiers had killed about 200 people in a nearby village in reprisal.

A new, large-scale Indonesian mili-

tary offensive was under way in East Timor involving 10,000 Indonesian troops.

Early in August, 500 Hansips (Timorese militia) working with the Indonesian Army had defected to the Fretilin rebel movement, taking their weapons with them.

Mr Walsh said that to his knowledge these details had not been published in Australian newspapers.

The chairman of the council, Mr Richard Alston, said the report of an Australian parliamentary delegation on its recent visit to East Timor was irrelevant.

"We couldn't expect anything more than a superficial assessment of the situation in East Timor given the nature and brevity of the visit [four days] and the sheer limitations of language and the presence of the Indonesian escort," he said.

The report — which found that Indonesia had effective control of the island, was devoting sizeable funds to its development and had moderated its administration there — has been heavily criticised since it was tabled in Parliament last week.

Mr Alston said the report was simply irrelevant because of reliable informa-

tion that there would be no vote on East Timor in the United Nations this year.

Since the delegation's visit in late July and early August there had been a military build-up by Indonesia in East Timor and an outbreak of fighting.

(The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said last week that fighting had resumed in East Timor.)

Mr Alston said there was no doubt that since the 1979 famine in East Timor material conditions had improved and the Indonesian Government had significantly increased its budgetary allowances to the territory.

But in view of the past sufferings of

the East Timorese at the hands of the Indonesians, Australia should not close the book on East Timor without first having established a satisfactory picture of conditions there and an understanding of its people's attitude.

The national director of Community Aid Abroad, Mr Harry Martin, said there had been a history of Australian Liberal and Labor Governments telling lies about what was happening in East Timor.

He had doubts about the Australian Government sharing all of the information it had with the Australian people.

Fretilin 'disappointed by delegation's refusal to visit rebel camp'

Fighting linked with Australians' visit

CANBERRA TIMES 14/9/83

JAKARTA, Thursday (AAP). — Renewed fighting between the East Timorese independence group Fretilin and Indonesian troops has been indirectly linked to a visit by an Australian parliamentary delegation.

The explanation by senior officials in Jakarta is among several that have emerged since the unofficial five-month-old ceasefire between Fretilin and the military ended on August 8.

Senior officials said Fretilin had been "highly frustrated" when the Australia delegation of three Labor and two Liberal MPs decided not to accept an invitation to a guerilla camp.

Fretilin had been angry also that the delegation had not paid more attention to its seven-year-old independence cause, and might have expected the Australians to bring a Fretilin representative from outside East Timor.

The rebels' disappointment that the delegation's four-day visit in July and August had produced no benefit led to the August 8 uprising by former Fretilin rebels on a farming settlement in which 12 to 15 Indonesian soldiers had been killed, the officials said.

Well-informed diplomats said that since the August 8 uprising both the Army and Fretilin had staged unspecified attacks, and the army had

strengthened its permanent East Timor force of about 3,000 troops, possibly with 1,000 or more special commandos.

Four armed Fretilin guerillas invited the leader of the Australian delegation, Mr Morrison (Lab, NSW) to visit their camp at an unscheduled roadside meeting in the Baucau district on July 29.

Mr Morrison said later that the brevity of the delegation's stay and difficulty of making further contact precluded such a visit.

East Timor's Governor Carrascalao said the visit to the camp would have been unwise and could have appeared to lend the rebels Australian support.

Senior diplomatic sources are sceptical of claims linking the farming settlement uprising to "frustration" and discontent within Fretilin.

They said the more likely explanation was the approaching United Nations debate on East Timorese independence. Fretilin traditionally stepped up operations on the eve of the annual vote, expected next month, and the uprising most likely had been co-ordinated by Fretilin commanders in the hills.

Diplomats said information was rapidly drying up as the military tightened security in East Timor.

Authorities have rebuked one foreign correspondent for alleging a massive troop increase in the territory. Well-informed officials and diplomats say the build-up is not massive, but exact figures are unavailable.

Mr Morrison said in Canberra yesterday that Fretilin forces in East Timor had been frustrated by false expectations and hopes given to them by members of the group living in other countries.

The impact of Fretilin propaganda from abroad had been evident during discussions with guerillas, who had been led to believe that one of its leaders, Mr Abilio Araujo, would arrive in East Timor with the Australian delegation.

CANBERRA TIMES 14/9/83

Report of Australian parliamentary delegation 'irrelevant'

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UN Timor move may save big ALP fight

By OLGA FERNLEY

AGG - 14/9/53
The question of self-determination for East Timor is not likely to come to a vote in the United Nations this year, thus saving the Australian Labor Party from a serious internal row.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, about 10 days ago issued a statement on his efforts to negotiate a settlement of the East Timor issue.

The statement, issued before the UN chief left on an Africa mission, said in part: "In view of recent developments regarding the question of East Timor, I do not consider it opportune to submit a substantive report on my efforts to contribute a comprehensive settlement to the problem to the General Assembly at this time."

Mr Perez de Cuellar refused to elaborate.

The Fretilin representative, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, told 'The Age' from New York that there would still be discussion on the question of independence for East Timor in the UN General Assembly, but the issue would now not be put to a vote.

"There will be discussion of the question, with hearings of petitioners, but there will be no vote. Consideration will be given to the proposition that the issue of East Timor be deferred to the 39th session," he said.

If the issue does not come to a vote, the Australian Government will be saved from a row over how Australia casts its vote.

The issue has already caused controversy inside the party. The report from the parliamentary delegation to East Timor, tabled in Parliament, says Australia will lose what influence it has over Indonesia if it opposes in the UN the Indonesian annexation of East Timor.

This is at odds with formal ALP foreign policy, which says that the party "will continue to support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese". This position was also recommended in a report from a Senate inquiry on East Timor, tabled in Parliament last week.

Continued: PAGE 10

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FROM PAGE 1

Mr Horta said that Fretilin hoped the Australian Government would support the right of East Timorese to self-determination. He said that although the issue would not come to a vote this year, Australia could make its voice heard within the UN committee, and other member States would give consideration to Australia's position.

The chairman of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Mr Richard Alston, said at a Melbourne Press conference on East Timor yesterday that the report of the Australian Parliamentary delegation to East Timor was now irrelevant.

"We are reliably informed that there will not be a vote in the Unit-

ed Nations on East Timor this year and subsequent to the delegation's visit there has been an Indonesian military build-up in East Timor and an outbreak in fighting, thus dramatically changing the situation reported by the delegation," Mr Alston said.

He said ACFOA urged the Government to support calls for debate in the General Assembly on a resolution to give an extension of time to Mr Perez de Duellar. "Such a debate would provide an opportunity for new information to be placed before the United Nations," he said.

The East Timor consultant to ACFOA, Mr Pat Walsh, said that

among the new developments coming to light was the reported massacre of 200 East Timorese villagers in reprisal for the killing of about 15 Indonesian soldiers last month.

He said ACFOA received a verbal confirmation from Roman Catholic church sources of the massacre. He said the church in the capital, Dili, also confirmed that a new, large-scale military operation was under way in East Timor involving 10,000 Indonesian troops.

The church communication, received on 1 September, also said that 500 Timorese militia working with the Indonesian Government "defected to Fretilin, taking their arms with them, early in August".

Australian

14/9/83

Aid group says Timor report a failure

By MARK HOOPER

THE Australian Council for Overseas Aid has branded the parliamentary delegation's report on East Timor as irrelevant and a failure.

The council, which is the coordinating body for 56 non-government organisations involved with aid and development, believes the delegation's findings should be disregarded because of the subsequent Indonesian military build-up in East Timor and an outbreak of fighting.

A five-man delegation, led by the NSW Labor member Mr Bill Morrison, found after its five-day visit in July that Indonesia was making "a significant effort to improve the conditions in East Timor".

Its report was issued last week.

However, the council's chairman, Mr Richard Alston, said Australia may have allowed itself to be a pawn in Indonesia's pursuit of a final military solution to continuing resistance in the area.

Mr Alston said: "Reports indicate that a substantial military build-up began in East Timor soon after the parliamentary delegation left, and the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, has confirmed the renewed fighting.

He said the delegation failed to investigate the fundamental question of the attitude of the East Timorese people to Indonesian control.

The brevity of the visit and the limitations of language and an Indonesian government escort ensured the report was a superficial assessment.

"Australia must not close the book on East Timor without first establishing a satisfactory and credible picture of conditions in the territory and an understanding of Timorese attitudes to their situation."

The council has urged the Government to support a delay in the debate over East Timor in the United Nations while more facts are gathered on recent developments.

ing down of protective trade barriers. On the sensitive areas of internal politics,

resentful if our neighbor lets us know what it thinks of our standpoint, and how we express it."

East Timor has glimmer of light

Truth cost lives

It looks like there's a glimmer of light at the end of the tunnel for East Timor.

And it's people like MHR Ken Fry who have made the situation get at least this far.

We all know that the Indonesians are allowing an Australian contingent to go wherever they wish and see whatever they wish in East Timor -- and all of this is to be done in about 36 hours.

Ken Fry himself describes this comic opera investigation by Australian parliamentarians as a "useless exercise in propaganda."

However, there's a chance that things are starting to sort themselves out there.

The recently-announced cease-fire between the Fretin forces and the Indonesians gives some indication of that.

Admittedly Indonesian journalists say its

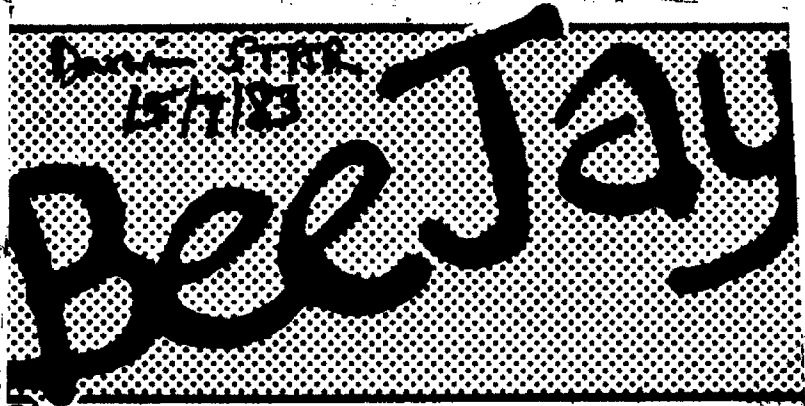
glimmer of light

tantamount to a Fretlin surrender while the Fretlin say the Indonesians have had enough and it's just about as good as an admission of defeat.

And, apparently, there are also indications that some members of the In-

onesian armed forces have given support to Fretlin.

One particularly interesting aspect is that photographs of Fretin taken soon after the invasion which showed them armed with bolt-action Mauser rifles of WWII vintage.



AR By JOHN BERRY

The latest photographs show them all with semi and fully automatic rifles, some of which appear to be American AR16's and others Russian AK 47's.

Someone's looking after them as far as arms go aren't they?

According to Ken Fry the Indonesians have had to compromise.

They have had to look at the prospect of an alternative and at this stage they appear to have accepted middle-of-the-road decolonisation.

While offering a degree of self-government to the East Timorese, it also appears this will involve a guarantee of non-alignment (military) with other countries.

Mr Fry says that under these circumstances Australia could be called upon to assist in boosting the economy of East Timor, particularly in the area of agricultural know-how.

Sometimes journalists have to risk their lives to tell their readers just what is happening.

That was the case in East Timor during the Indonesian invasion when journalists from the ABC were massacred.

The truth is starting to come out in dribs and drabs.

Ken Fry yesterday repeated a story I'd heard often 'around the traps.'

It goes something like this:

A message from the field commander asking Jakarta how to deal with the Australian journalists in a disputed area.

The reply: Treat them as combatants.

And what did the Australian Federal Government do about it?

Very little.

But so, the story goes, they have taped evidence on file of the radio transmissions which sealed the fate of the ABC crew.

THE TIMOR TANGLE

By JOHN HAMILTON

JUST what is going on in East Timor?

For the past two weeks a series of radically-conflicting reports — official and unofficial — has been appearing in our newspapers.

Two official reports have been tabled in the Parliament.

The first was the report of the Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor, led by Labor member and former diplomat Mr Bill Morrison.

This was a report of the visit by three Liberal and three Labor members of Parliament to Indonesia from July 22 to August 4.

Not surprisingly, much of the report dealt with the four days the delegation spent in East Timor. The report's main findings were:

The Indonesian Government in East Timor appeared to be in control of all settled areas.

Quiet

The security situation was quiet with no military action between March and up to and including the visit by the delegation.

The Indonesians had opted for a hearts-and-minds campaign to persuade remaining Fretilin groups to lay down their arms.

The Indonesian Government was working towards making conditions in East Timor similar to those in other provinces and was allocating a disproportionate amount of funds for the development of its province in East Timor.

Indonesia regarded the 1976 incorporation of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia as "final and irreversible".

Just before the report was tabled in the Parliament, Labor Senator Gordon McIntosh of Western Australia insisted on adding a dissenting report.

He described the majority report as "tendentious, super-

ficial and at times misleading."

The Senator is chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence which tabled its report on "The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor" in the Senate last week.

This committee did not visit East Timor. It received 218 submissions from organisations ranging from the Department of Foreign Affairs to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and held 14 days of sittings.

Again the report was not unanimous. This time three Labor Senators endorsed the report and three Liberal Senators dissented.

Its main findings were the invasion and subsequent occupation of East Timor by Indonesian forces were illegal acts.

The incorporation of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia failed to meet acceptable international legal criteria for such an act.

The right to self-determination had been denied to the people of East Timor and there was evidence that abuse of the human rights of the East Timorese was continuing.

Australia should not give de jure recognition to the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia and should oppose Indonesia in the United Nations on this issue.

One of the dissenting Senators, Senator Hamer from Victoria, said, "My impression is that the conclusions and recommendations in the Senate committee's report were decided before any evidence was heard ... evidence which was very incom-

plete, biased and unsatisfactory."

Confusing? Well, while the official reports were being presented there were a series of unofficial reports, many emanating from Lisbon, which could be said to cast doubts — or instil doubts — about the validity of the official reports, particularly the Morrison report which said that Indonesia was making a significant effort to improve conditions in East Timor.

Indeed, on the day that Mr Morrison presented his report, Lord Avebury, chairman of Britain's Parliamentary Human Rights Committee, said in Lisbon that Indonesian troops and helicopters were evacuating the civilian population of the East Timorese capital, Dili, in preparation for a major drive against Fretilin guerrillas.

Denied

And it was on the same day that Foreign Minister Bill Hayden denied a report by Radio Australia that Indonesia had increased its troops to East Timor to 20,000.

"Logistically, its not credible," he said. And anybody who has actually visited Dili recently would label Lord Avebury's claim as nonsense.

There could be absolutely no reason or logistical means to suddenly uproot a population of around 60,000 — but the timing of this headline-producing announcement was impeccable.

The Fretilin movement and its supporters have a well-oiled propaganda machine. Supported by the governments of the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, it continues an

active campaign of disinformation.

Mr Morrison himself told the Parliament, "Anyone following the events associated with the visit to Indonesia of the parliamentary delegation would have been struck by the immaculate timing of alleged exposes of Indonesian activities in East Timor.

"There certainly has been a determined and seemingly concerted effort to undermine the credibility of the delegation."

The attacks continue. Mr Morrison told Parliament of another effect of the propaganda campaign:

"It would seem to me that the Fretilin in East Timor had apparently been led to believe that support ... was on the way, curiously enough, in company with the Australian delegation.

"The Fretilin in East Timor have become the main victims of the propaganda of overseas Fretilin supporters. They are living on false expectations."

The East Timor issue goes before the United Nations again next month. Indonesia has the support of all the countries of South-East Asia, including Papua-New Guinea, on the issue.

We can expect an increasingly escalating campaign in the next few weeks to persuade us that there is instability and fighting in East Timor as the attempt to sew confusion continues.

The aim of this campaign is simple — to mount political pressure and get Australia to vote against Indonesia.

But as the parliamentary delegation's report states: "The Indonesians certainly regard the Timor question as a critical test of Australian-Indonesian relations and indicated that if differences persist the whole relationship will suffer."

Perhaps it's a little early to put Timor behind us

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, uttered a chilling sentence recently while visiting the Indonesian capital, Jakarta.

"We should put East Timor behind us," he told his smiling hosts, and with those seven brief words did his best to wipe a beleaguered nation and its 700,000 people off the agenda of international concern.

East Timor is one of the continuing horror stories of the post-colonial era — not quite on the scale of Kampuchea, perhaps, or Uganda but well up with Bokassa's short-lived Central African Empire.

Physically, it is the eastern half of the island shared by New Guinea and in 1975 when its previous owner, Portugal, threw in the imperial towel, it was invaded and occupied by the armies of Indonesia, which had inherited the other half from the Dutch.

The Portuguese-speaking East Timorese refused to accept this and held out for independence and self-determination under the banner of an organisation known as Fretilin, led by a youngish commander called Gusmao Xanana. Since then, behind an almost impenetrable curtain of propaganda and military secrecy, the Indonesians have been trying with limited success to root out Fretilin and destroy its support.

Cannibalism

Diplomatic sources say the Indonesian Army has just launched a stepped-up military campaign against Fretilin guerillas, breaking a six-month unofficial ceasefire.

Details of the Indonesians' methods are hard to come by and almost impossible to verify, but the balance of the evidence is that they are ruthless in the extreme.

Estimates of the numbers who have died range up to 200,000 and testimony, backed by photographs, includes allegations not only of torture but of castration of prisoners and cannibalism on their bodies.

The main forum for keeping East Timor even intermittently in the public eye has been the United Nations. Each October since the invasion, a majority of members has

From PETER WILSHER of The Sunday Times

backed the islanders' self-determination claim. But that majority has steadily narrowed, to 50-46 last year, and Indonesia's diplomats have mounted a huge campaign to get it finally reversed.

They argue, as always, that only a handful of extremists is holding out (300 is the favored number) and that, despite the regrettable necessity for martial law, the mass of the population is well-fed and widely content. Indeed, this March the local commander, Colonel Purwanto, held talks with the Fretilin and went so far as to offer an indefinite ceasefire.

Postponed

When news of this offer finally broke in June, it looked as though opinion might swing Indonesia's way.

Then something very odd happened. Although the ceasefire talks had been filmed and tape-recorded, Jakarta chose to deny they had ever taken place. How could they, asked the chief of military intelligence, when Indonesia is not involved in any war against an enemy? The UN Secretary-General is now so confused he has postponed all discussion until next year.

Meanwhile the Indonesians have put in 20,000 troops to flush out the Fretilin.

That may seem a lot to deal with 300 guerillas, but fits in better with some instructions to troops captured in East Timor last year. These state, quite flatly, that every village and hamlet is stuffed with Fretilin sympathisers and give instructions for discovering and eliminating them:

"If it proves necessary to use violence, make sure that there are no people around to see what is happening so as not to arouse people's antipathy. . . . Avoid taking photographs showing torture in progress (people being photographed at times when they are being subjected to electric current, when they have been stripped naked, etc)."

One way and another, it is perhaps a little early to put East Timor behind us.

CANBERRA TIME 16/9/83
P5

Fretilin 'disappointed by delegation's refusal to visit rebel camp'

Fighting linked with Australians' visit

JAKARTA, Thursday (AAP). — Renewed fighting between the East Timorese independence group Fretilin and Indonesian troops has been indirectly linked to a visit by an Australian parliamentary delegation.

The explanation by senior officials in Jakarta is among several that have emerged since the unofficial five-month-old ceasefire between Fretilin and the military ended on August 8.

Senior officials said Fretilin had been "highly frustrated" when the Australia delegation of three Labor and two Liberal MPs decided not to accept an invitation to a guerilla camp.

Fretilin had been angry also that the delegation had not paid more attention to its seven-year-old independence cause, and might have expected the Australians to bring a Fretilin representative from outside East Timor.

The rebels' disappointment that the delegation's four-day visit in July and August had produced no benefit led to the August 8 uprising by former Fretilin rebels on a farming settlement in which 12 to 15 Indonesian soldiers had been killed, the officials said.

Well-informed diplomats said that since the August 8 uprising both the Army and Fretilin had staged unspecified attacks, and the army had

strengthened its permanent East Timor force of about 3,000 troops, possibly with 1,000 or more special commandos.

Four armed Fretilin guerillas invited the leader of the Australian delegation, Mr Morrison (Lab, NSW) to visit their camp at an unscheduled roadside meeting in the Baucau district on July 29.

Mr Morrison said later that the brevity of the delegation's stay and difficulty of making further contact precluded such a visit.

East Timor's Governor Carrascalao said the visit to the camp would have been unwise and could have appeared to lend the rebels Australian support.

Senior diplomatic sources are sceptical

of claims linking the farming settlement uprising to "frustration" and discontent within Fretilin.

They said the more likely explanation was the approaching United Nations debate on East Timorese independence. Fretilin traditionally stepped up operations on the eve of the annual vote, expected next month, and the uprising most likely had been co-ordinated by Fretilin commanders in the hills.

Diplomats said information was rapidly drying up as the military tightened security in East Timor.

Authorities have rebuked one foreign correspondent for alleging a massive troop increase in the territory. Well-

informed officials and diplomats say the build-up is not massive, but exact figures are unavailable.

Mr Morrison said in Canberra yesterday that Fretilin forces in East Timor had been frustrated by false expectations and hopes given to them by members of the group living in other countries.

The impact of Fretilin propaganda from abroad had been evident during discussions with guerillas, who had been led to believe that one of its leaders, Mr Abilio Araujo, would arrive in East Timor with the Australian delegation.

AGE 16/9/80

New Timor fighting linked to MPs' visit

JAKARTA, 15 Sept. — Renewed fighting between the East Timorese independence group, Fretilin, and Indonesian troops has been indirectly linked to the Australian parliamentary delegation's five-day visit which began in late July.

The explanation, by senior officials in Jakarta, is supported by some diplomats but others are sceptical.

Senior Indonesian officials said Fretilin was "highly frustrated" when the delegation of three Labor and two Liberal MPs decided not to accept an invitation to a guerilla camp.

The officials said Fretilin was also angry that the delegation had not paid more attention to its seven-year-old independence cause and may have expected the Australians to bring a Fretilin representative from outside East Timor.

They said the rebels' disappointment that the delegation's four-day visit produced no benefit led to the 8 August uprising by former Fretilin members on a farming settlement in which 12 to 15 Indonesian soldiers were killed.

Since the end of the five-month ceasefire, on 8 August, both the army and Fretilin have staged attacks and, according to some informed diplomats, the army has strengthened its permanent East Timor force of about 3000 troops.

Four armed Fretilin guerillas invited the parliamentary delegation's leader, Mr Bill Morrison, to visit their camp when they met the Australians on the road in the Baucau district on 29 July.

Mr Morrison said later the brevity of the delegation's stay and difficulty of making further contact precluded a visit.

Senior diplomatic sources say the more likely explanation for renewed hostilities is the approaching UN debate on East Timor independence. They say Fretilin traditionally steps up operations on the eve of the annual vote, which is expected next month.

— AAP

from page 1.

AGE 17/9/83

Timor Governor removed, troop build-up report

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — A state of emergency has been declared in East Timor and the civilian Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, has been removed from power, Dutch National Radio reported last night.

The reports, which the radio sourced to Portugal, said the state of emergency and declaration of the Governor as "non-active" followed a big increase in military activity in East Timor.

The reports could not be confirmed through Australian sources. Spokesmen for the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, and the Department of Defence, said they had no knowledge or information about such developments.

But in the Portuguese capital, Lisbon, refugees returning from East Timor told 'Age' correspondent Jill Jolliffe yesterday that convoys of trucks carrying Indonesian soldiers, weapons and ammunition had been leaving Dili for the interior.

Reports from Jakarta over the past three weeks have attributed to Indonesian military sources, including the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, General Benny Mordani, warnings of a final offensive against the East Timorese independence movement, Fretilin.

Yesterday, officials were reported in Jakarta as saying that since early last month there had been increased attacks by both Fretilin and Indonesian troops in East Timor, and that the Indonesian garrison of about 3000 troops in East Timor had been strengthened.

Indonesian authorities would not comment on reports from Canberra that 200 East Timorese civilians had been killed last month in retaliation for an ambush on 8 August in which 15 Indonesian soldiers died.

"We are studying the reports," an Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman told Agence France-Presse.

Other reports from officials in

Jakarta this week said that Fretilin had stepped up its military activity following the recent visit of the Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor.

The leader of the delegation, Labor MP Mr Bill Morrison, said when he tabled the delegation report in Parliament 10 days ago, that Indonesia could easily crush Fretilin militarily, but that the Indonesians had decided to adopt a "hearts and minds" campaign to win support from the East Timorese.

'The Age' has been told of recent dramatic heightening of military activity in East Timor.

Mr Pat Walsh, of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, which co-ordinates Australia's non-Government aid agencies, said Catholic Church sources in East Timor have told the council that a Fretilin group attacked the military section of the airport at Dili, the capital of East Timor, on or about 16 August.

Fretilin destroyed a helicopter in the attack, the sources said.

Refugees

Jill Jolliffe reports from Lisbon that refugees arriving in the Portuguese capital have given what they claim to be the first eye-witness descriptions of the situation in East Timor since Indonesia mounted a new offensive there in the middle of last month.

One refugee, who asked not to be identified, said he left Timor on 9 September, nine days after total power in the territory had been taken by the Indonesian military.

He said a curfew had been imposed from 6 pm until dawn. He described the influx of waves of troops into the territory, accompanied by tanks, helicopters and planes.

He said trucks belonging to Chinese merchants in Dili had all been requisitioned to carry ammunition to the interior and that columns of 30 trucks at a time, escorted by tanks, were moving regularly out of Dili to all areas of the territory. They carried bullets, grenades and mortar shells.

Continued: Page 7

Timor emergency

He said that since the middle of last month, helicopters had been bringing wounded, Timorese and Indonesians into Dili hospital "almost daily". He told of seeing a funeral ceremony for two Indonesians who were buried in the war heroes section of Dili cemetery, in the suburbs of Santa Cruz, on 29 August.

The refugee said there had been no formal proclamation of martial law, but it had been made known to the Timorese community in Dili that all power would be held by the military from the beginning of September.

He said Governor Mario Carrascalao had called the heads of Government departments together in late July and told them that Fretilin resistance fighters would have from 1 to 15 August to surrender and that if they did not, he would then call in Indonesian troops to "eliminate" them.

He warned the department heads that they and their families should take great care because "even as Governor I won't be able to protect you". He had informed them that prisoners would no longer be sent to Comarca prison in Dili or to Atauro Island, but would go to Bali.

According to the informant, no guerillas surrendered in the term given and from the middle of

August, Indonesian authorities began arresting people and transporting them to Bali. He said he knew of four people who were arrested on 13 August, three of whom were named as Albino Lourdes, Bonifacio Magno and Paulo Mesquita.

Later, about 20 prisoners from Comarca prison were also moved, being transported in sealed cars to Dili airport. Among them was Davis Ximenes, who was arrested in June, 1980, on charges of leading an uprising in Dili and has been in Comarca prison since.

However, refugees said that Chinese drivers who had been employed in the armored columns had reported parachute landings near Laga, Lospalos, Baucau and Viqueque in the eastern zone.

The drivers had also said that the armored columns were already under attack from Fretilin guerillas, and mentioned ambushes in the Same and Ainaro regions.

Refugees said that since the middle of last month Governor Carrascalao had cancelled all appointments and was escorted by red-beret commandos on his daily rounds, as were his wife and children.

Timor Governor removed, heavy fight reported

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Fretilin destroyed a helicopter in the attack, the sources said.

After the attack there was an extensive door-to-door search in Dili and the surrounding area, apparently to seek those responsible. The searches were accompanied by intimidation and threats, church sources said.

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Continued: Page CHART Digital

Timor emergency

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The Australian
14 Sept. 1983

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He said the delegation failed to investigate the fundamental question of the attitude of the East Timorese people to Indonesian control.

The brevity of the visit and the limitations of language and an Indonesian government escort ensured the report was a superficial assessment.

"Australia must not close the book on East Timor without first establishing a satisfactory and credible picture of

Tuesday, September 20, 1983

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Democratic values and Timor

SIR: I have never read a more important or more depressing editorial than your "Timor barrier" (Herald, September 10). It represents the epitome of what I call amoral pragmatism: tolerating invasion and mass murder to avoid making waves and for economic (trade) gain.

The most horrific aspect of twentieth century life is not its violence, but the complacent way we live with it, accept it, and then deceive ourselves into

believing we are its opponents. Such are the qualities of that editorial.

You argue that East Timor is now firmly under Indonesian control, conditions there are improving and we should accept the situation; also that Indonesia has values very different from our own and we must learn to live with these, otherwise we'll end up isolated and miss out on a lot of trading opportunities.

About a third of the editorial concerns the trade we can look forward to with ASEAN. This is the sort of amoral pragmatism that permits gulags, Auschwitzes and East Timors to keep on happening. But the irony is that the same pragmatism undermines your argument and ensures that business as usual will prevail anyway — give or take a token trade

sanction. Since when did brutal regimes let a little criticism impair their trading acumen?

Western democratic values (our values) are contrasted with those of our brutal neighbours. We must learn to live as an island of humanity and caring amidst a regional sea of authoritarianism and violence. This is the editorial's contrast that calls for acceptance of what has happened in Timor, which includes reduction of the total population by somewhere between 20 and 50 per cent in the first five years of Indonesian occupation. To do otherwise we are told would be "dangerously moralistic."

Also, this learning to live with our neighbours theme assumes that such regimes are constant and unchanging. Thus they are called "survivalist societies" wherein "democracy is a dangerous luxury."

We can hope that these societies will change and for the better. To be critical now is to both lend ourselves to this possibility and to store up a little "credit" in advance.

There are but two questions left.

When the opponents of brutality, these spokesmen for Western democratic values, decency and humanity, no longer speak out against mass murder, but instead collaborate with it in the name of trade and neighbourliness, what has become of them?

And, if calls like this most recent one, to end the outcry and acquiesce are to prevail, will there be fewer East Timors — or more?

Dr Peter Cochrane,
History Department,
University of Sydney.

September 10

ACE - 20/9/83

Indons court Timor vote

JAKARTA, 19 Sept. — The visit to Indonesia by the West Samoan Foreign Minister, Mr Laufo Meti, could help Indonesia tie or even win the expected United Nations vote on its annexation of East Timor, Western diplomats said here today.

They told AAP that Mr Meti's 10-day visit, to include a day in East Timor, "strongly suggested" West Samoa would change from abstaining to supporting Indonesia in the UN vote, which could come this year.

One diplomat believed the visit indicated that West Samoa had already accepted Jakarta's incorporation of the former Portuguese colony in 1976, and Mr Meti's visit was a formality.

Indonesian foreign affairs officials have confirmed since Mr Meti's arrival on Saturday that he is being wooed strongly on the issue, although officially he is returning a visit to West Samoa last July by his Indonesian counterpart, Dr Mochtar.

The UN General Assembly debate on a Portuguese-inspired resolution calling for self-determination for East Timor has become an annual event in which Indonesia last year fell

short of winning by five votes — 46 to 50, with 50 countries abstaining.

West Samoa abstained, but most of its Pacific neighbors, including Australia, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, New Zealand and the Solomon Islands backed Indonesia against the resolution.

With West Samoan support, plus that of Comoros and Saint Vincent (which back Indonesia but were absent from last year's debate), Indonesia this year would have 49 votes to 50, provided other nations stuck to last year's positions.

Also absent during last year's East Timor vote were Libya, Iran and Equatorial Guinea, any one of which could now support Indonesia to tie or win the vote, diplomats said.

They were not surprised Jakarta was allowing Mr Meti to visit East Timor on Wednesday, despite sporadic fighting between the army and Fretilin independence guerillas which broke out on 8 August.

The still doubtful country in the UN vote is Australia, whose previous Government last year supported Indonesia against the pro-independence resolution. The Labor Government has yet to decide whether to maintain Canberra's support.

— AAP

"Timor barrier" (Herald, September 10). It represents the epitome of what I call amoral pragmatism: tolerating invasion and mass murder to avoid making waves and for economic (trade) gain.

The most horrific aspect of twentieth century life is not its violence, but the complacent way we live with it, accept it, and then deceive ourselves into

About a third of the editorial concerns the trade we can look forward to with ASEAN. This is the sort of amoral pragmatism that permits gulags, Auschwitzes and East Timors to keep on happening. But the irony is that the same pragmatism undermines your argument and ensures that business as usual will prevail anyway — give or take a token trade

reduction of the total population by somewhere between 20 and 50 per cent in the first five years of Indonesian occupation. To do otherwise we are told would be "dangerously moralistic." Also, this learning to live with our neighbours theme assumes that such regimes are constant and unchanging. Thus they are called "survivalist societies" wherein "democracy is a dangerous luxury."

And, if calls like this most recent to end the outcry and acquiesce are to prevail, will there be fewer East Tim — or more?

Dr Peter Cochran
History Department
University of Syd

September 10

cial difficulties and had been unable to repay bank overdrafts.

He had been recalled to Jakarta to prevent security leaks.

Dr Mochtar did not say whether a security breach had taken place.

He did not say when Mr Gutomo was recalled, but officials in Jakarta understand it was late last year.

The case was still being investigated by the Indonesian intelligence co-ordinating agency, Bakin, and the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

The decision accorded with a note issued by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Perez de Cuellar, on August 19 which referred to recent developments regarding East Timor.

Portugal is reviewing its policy on East

sanction. Since when did brutal regimes let a little criticism impair their trading acumen?

Western democratic values (our values) are contrasted with those of our brutal neighbours. We must learn to live as an island of humanity and caring amidst a regional sea of authoritarianism and violence. This is the editorial's contrast that calls for acceptance of what has happened in Timor, which includes reduction of the total population by somewhere between 20 and 50 per cent in the first five years of Indonesian occupation. To do otherwise we are told would be "dangerously moralistic."

Also, this learning to live with our neighbours theme assumes that such regimes are constant and unchanging. Thus they are called "survivalist societies" wherein "democracy is a dangerous luxury."

SMH 2019

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Democratic values and Timor

SIR: I have never read a more important or more depressing editorial than your "Timor barrier" (Herald, September 10). It represents the epitome of what I call amoral pragmatism: tolerating invasion and mass murder to avoid making waves and for economic (trade) gain.

The most horrific aspect of twentieth century life is not its violence, but the complacent way we live with it, accept it, and then deceive ourselves into

believing we are its opponents. Such are the qualities of that editorial.

You argue that East Timor is now firmly under Indonesian control, conditions there are improving and we should accept the situation; also that Indonesia has values very different from our own and we must learn to live with these, otherwise we'll end up isolated and miss out on a lot of trading opportunities.

About a third of the editorial concerns the trade we can look forward to with ASEAN. This is the sort of amoral pragmatism that permits gulags, Auschwitzes and East Timors to keep on happening. But the irony is that the same pragmatism undermines your argument and ensures that business as usual will prevail anyway - give or take a token trade

We can hope that these societies will change and for the better. To be critical now is to both lend ourselves to this possibility and to store up a little "credit" in advance.

There are but two questions left.

When the opponents of brutality, these spokesmen for Western democratic values, decency and humanity, no longer speak out against mass murder, but instead collaborate with it in the name of trade and neighbourliness, what has become of them?

And, if calls like this most recent one, to end the outcry and acquiesce are to prevail, will there be fewer East Timors - or more?

September 10

Dr Peter Cochrane,
History Department,
University of Sydney.

Indonesia sacks East Timor chief

AP Wire 20/9/83

Indonesia has sacked its military commander in East Timor following a defeat by Fretilin guerillas last month.

Fretilin rebels killed 15 soldiers and militiamen during the battle on August 8.

Senior diplomatic officials in Canberra said today the sacking was a disciplinary action as the Colonel was held responsible for losing the battle.

Rebels in East Timor had been given until the end of August to surrender before Indonesian forces took military action against them.

Officials said no Fretilin guerillas had surrendered before the deadline expired and Indonesian troops were currently seeking them out.

Sept 21 1983 ADELAIDE ADVERTISER

‘Serious WED 21st
inaccuracy’ SEPT 1983.
ADELAIDE
ADVERTISER

Sir — Serious inaccuracy in the John Hamilton series of articles on Timor could be crucial to the debate between John Hamilton and Lord Avebury.

I refer to the photograph of John Hamilton peering by a grave which, according to the caption, held the remains of the five missing Australian newsmen who disappeared when Indonesia invaded East Timor. The contents of that so-called grave were described in a telegram from the Department of Foreign Affairs by the Australian doctor who did the autopsy.

The most he could say was that the remains were “possibly human.”

This stage-prop grave is a cynical exercise to lull the unwary into believing that the newsmen lie peacefully in a neat grave.

If the “possibly human” scraps were so minute as to defy identification, a matchbox would have been too large.

Shirley Shackleton.
(wife of Greg Shackleton).
Middle Park, Victoria.

C-TIMES

21/9/83

WORLD NEWS

Switch follows fighting

Indonesia replaces Timor commander

JAKARTA, Tuesday (AAP). — Indonesia's military commander in East Timor, Colonel Purwanto, had been replaced after renewed fighting between the army and Fretilin independence guerillas, a military spokesman disclosed in Jakarta today.

Colonel Purwanto, who had taken part in unofficial truce negotiations with Fretilin last March, was replaced at the end of August by Colonel Rudito, said the source.

He declined to confirm or deny rumours that Colonel Purwanto was replaced because of the fighting which began on August 8.

However, senior diplomatic sources in Jakarta understand the switch of commanders resulted directly from the fighting which ended a lull of almost six months.

The military spokesman declined to provide further details because of the army's tight security clamp on recent developments in East Timor, annexed as Indonesia's 27th province in 1976.

Details of reported attacks by Fretilin and Indonesian troops are scarce because of heavy security and military bans on unauthorised phone calls to East Timor.

However, well-placed diplomats say the territory's permanent force of four battalions totaling 3,000 men have been reinforced with up to several thousand commandos (*kopassandha*).

A senior official said earlier this month that security forces had been strengthened and more helicopters had been despatched.

The only public statements have come from the Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr Mochtar, who earlier spoke of scattered incidents, an ambush and several arrests near the capital, Dili.

He said the situation was under control and not serious enough to cancel a visit to East Timor tomorrow by the West Samoan Foreign Minister, Mr Meti, for talks with the provincial Governor, Mr Carrascalao.

Military sources declined to detail the backgrounds or ages of Colonel Rudito and Colonel Purwanto.

Colonel Purwanto was appointed area military commander of East Timor about two years ago and was responsible to the commander of the 16th Military District, Brigadier-General Sutarto, who is based in Bali.

Military sources declined to say who had overall command of security operations against Fretilin.

But diplomatic sources understood Colonel Rudito would be in close contact with Indonesia's supreme armed forces commander, General Benny Murdani.

General Murdani, 50, takes a keen interest in East Timor and last month warned Fretilin he would hit them without mercy if they refused to accept amnesty.

Governor Carrascalao puts Fretilin numbers at up to 200 men armed with World War II and early 1970s NATO rifles.

A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra ridiculed yesterday allegations by the ABC that Colonel Purwanto had been moved because of the alleged military action.

He had been rotated along with his unit on August 9, the spokesman said. Colonel Purwanto had since taken up duties in Jakarta.

It was normal to rotate military units on garrison duties at regular periods.

Timor army chief recalled

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — Indonesia has withdrawn the military commander of its troops in East Timor for negligence.

The commander, Colonel Purwanto, has been assigned to desk duties in Jakarta because his negligence led to the deaths of 15 Indonesian soldiers and their East Timorese helpers in an uprising on 8 August, a spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra said yesterday.

In the uprising villagers near the town of Viqueque in central East Timor, attacked the Indonesian garrison, took their weapons and killed 15 garrison members.

The Indonesian Government described the rebels as former members of Fretilin, the East Timorese independence movement.

Other sources said yesterday that 15 Fretilin guerillas had been

killed near the Dili airport in mid-August.

The sources declined to be identified. Their report of the killing of 15 Fretilin members follows 'The Age' report last Saturday that Fretilin members had attacked the military section of the Dili airport on or about 16 August and destroyed a helicopter.

AAP yesterday reported from Jakarta that Colonel Purwanto had been replaced at the end of August by Colonel Rujidno. The spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy yesterday said he could not confirm this.

Earlier in the week the Indonesian Embassy said a regular rotation of troops in East Timor had occurred at the end of August.

The spokesman for the embassy also said he wanted to clarify a statement he made to 'The Age' on

Monday that about one third of East Timor around Viqueque had been placed under military rule.

He said it was not correct to describe it as under military rule. "A military operation is being conducted. It is under the military commander. The civil administration under Governor Carrascaloa is still there, though there is the military operation near Viqueque," he said.

The recent Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor met Colonel Purwanto. He told members he had held discussions with Fretilin and had introduced an indefinite amnesty for them.

This is at odds with statements in August by General Benny Murdani, the commander of the Indonesian armed forces, that Fretilin had until the end of August to surrender or face a new Indonesian offensive.

AGE 21/9/83

Jakarta gets tough as reconciliation fails in E Timor

JAKARTA, Tuesday. — The East Timor military district commander has been replaced following reports of incidents and arrests in the former Portuguese colony, Indonesian Government sources said today.

A military spokesman confirmed that the commander, Colonel Poerwanto, had been succeeded by Colonel Rudito at the end of August but declined to say whether Colonel Poerwanto's recall was linked to the incidents.

The Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said last weekend that there had been scattered incidents in

East Timor and some people had been arrested near the provincial capital of Dili.

Dr Mochtar said the situation was under control and that the West Samoan Foreign Minister, Laufo Meti, would visit the territory on Wednesday.

Dr Mochtar confirmed there had been an increase in Indonesian military strength in East Timor but denied a foreign press report that 20,000 troops were involved in a drive to wipe out Fretilin guerillas.

The UN General Assembly last year voted to condemn the takeover of East Timor and Jakarta is hoping that a similar motion this

year will not reach the General Assembly.

Peter Hastings, Foreign Editor, writes: Colonel Poerwanto was sacked because the military policy he aspires, a negotiated peace with Fretilin, failed on August 8 when 40 former Fretilin attacked and killed 15 Indonesian soldiers, eight of them Timorese.

The new Indonesian defence force commander, General Benny Moerdani, is a hardline soldier. While he agreed to permit Colonel Poerwanto to seek a negotiated surrender of Fretilin leaders, he set an amnesty deadline of August 31. But the colonel's fate was al-

ready sealed on August 8 by the attack in the town of Vikeke.

Colonel Poerwanto and the Timorese Governor, Dr Mario Caracallao, have jointly pursued a reconciliation policy with Fretilin at military and civilian levels for the past six months.

Fretilin sympathisers have been allowed to visit urban centres without hindrance, the only restriction being a ban on carrying firearms.

Since August 8 there has been an upgrading of military operations against hardcore Fretilin guerillas, estimated at between 200

and 400 and scattered in small, self-contained groups.

Indonesian armed forces in Timor number about 9,000, including 3,000 police and two battalions each of Indonesian regulars and Timorese recruits. About 1,000 were recently sent to other parts of Indonesia on routine rotation duty and have been replaced with 1,500 specially-trained paratroops, and helicopters.

There is a growing feeling in Canberra and Jakarta that while Fretilin numbers may be small, its leadership has outwitted General Moerdani in the propaganda war.

They say that Fretilin capitalised brilliantly on the Australian parliamentary delegation visit to East Timor, and that following the August 8 attack, General Moerdani badly miscalculated the political context by ordering a return to military operations.

In doing so he destroyed the Indonesian reconciliation image just at the time when the parliamentary delegation report was being presented to Parliament, the Senate Timor committee report was on the point of being released, and the sponsors of the UN East Timor vote were debating their General Assembly tactics next month.

Big new offensive in while Labor stands aside

the Indones
UDT, and
because he v

The majority report of the Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor parroted Indonesian assurances that Fretilin was a spent force with only a handful of fighters. Yet Foreign Affairs officials confirm that the Indonesians are launching an all out assault. On what? Trees?

It can only be an assault on the unarmed Timorese people or Fretilin. Most likely it is both.

Last month Foreign Minister Bill Hayden expressed "concern" at the build-up of Indonesian forces in East Timor. He later played down the protest, denying any sizeable military build-up.

Eye-witnesses who left East Timor on September 9 confirm an all-out offensive is under way, with widespread arrests, a dusk-to-dawn curfew, the requisitioning of all trucks to carry military supplies into the mountains, and conscription of young Timorese as guides.

The Indonesian commander in East Timor, Col Purwanto and his top assistant Major da Costa, have been reportedly recalled after initiating ceasefire talks with

Fretilin earlier this year. Puppet Governor Carrascalao has lost all power and is under close Indonesian guard.

Recent events in East Timor show that the Australian government *can* influence Indonesian actions. After Labor won power on March 5, the Indonesians agreed to a ceasefire in East Timor. Jakarta acted in part because it was concerned that the Hawke government would apply ALP policy on East Timor.

But the Jakarta generals were reassured after Hawke and Hayden visited Jakarta.

While Bill Morrison, leader of the parliamentary delegation to East Timor, whitewashed Indonesian aggression Jakarta was putting the finishing touches to a new genocidal offensive.

Jakarta has not even bothered to deny charges of a massacre of 200 Timorese villagers near Vikeke last month. The Indonesian Foreign Ministry is "studying" the report.

The Labor government could help stop this slaughter. Labor could protest strongly in the UN. It could even begin to apply ALP policy by cutting off military aid to Jakarta. But on its performance so far, many more voices must be raised in protest before it will act.

The Indonesian authorities
have won at least some hearts
and minds in East Timor...

Most members of the
Australian parliamentary
delegation.

Dave Davies 21/9/83

The Chanon - 2/19/83

Chinese give top mark to schools

CHINESE-speaking parents of inner-city children are keener on education for their children than many Anglo-Saxon parents.

An education researcher, Mrs Christine Tun, says the Chinese-speaking parents — mostly Vietnamese and Timorese — hold education in the highest regard because it seems to them one of the few ways to improve their social and financial status.

Education is important to Asian parents and they would like to get more involved in schools, according to Mrs Tun.

Project

Mrs Tun is making a study of a plan to teach Chinese languages in Richmond and Abbotsford schools.

The project was suggested by the Richmond Community Education Centre which has been helping in a similar scheme for Greek children for over two years.

Mrs Tun has spent the last two months trying to find what languages are spoken by the Richmond and Abbotsford Asian community.

She has started to talk to parents and schools about what they think of bilingual teaching, where children are taught normal school subjects in the language of their home.

Study

The Greek project proved a great success with children learning English quicker and enjoying school more.

The Education Ministry has paid for the feasibility study hoping the same would apply if Asian languages were taught.

But Mrs Tun has found the situation is complicated because there are dozens of distinct Chinese dialects.

The main dialects in Richmond and Abbotsford are Hakka, Cantonese, Teochiu and Kokkien which originate along the south coast of China and around Canton.

• TURN TO P.2

S. M. H. 2019
Indonesia's aims

SIR: It is plain that Indonesia has won the day in East Timor and that any further protests from Australia will serve only to irritate the Indonesian Government and cause deterioration in our already prickly relationship.

However, there is great danger. I believe, in further appeasement of the expansionist Indonesian nation.

Peter Hastings's article (Herald, August 30) drew attention to the clear distinction between developments on either side of the border between Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea. Indonesianisation of Irian Jaya is proceeding apace but little encouragement appears to be given to those on the other side to create establishments worth their defending.

A statement by Papua New Guinea's Defence Minister, Mr Tito, that Indonesia could invade his country within 10 to 20 years is a further cause for alarm.

While this dangerous situation is being allowed to develop, the Australian Government is sending aid to the Philippines which must be seen as support for the revolting Marcos regime.

Surely, it is in our vital interests that whatever funds are available should be allocated to Papua New Guinea. Not only would Papua New Guinea be encouraged by this manifestation of goodwill, but I suggest it would also indicate to Indonesia that Australia takes a very close interest in the integrity of Papua New Guinea.

I have no doubt that Indonesian expansion must be stopped at the Irian Jaya border and that any appeasement in that connection brings the inevitable threat closer to our shores.

It was a pity we believed we were incapable of preventing the annexation of Dutch New Guinea. The intrusion must be allowed to go no further.

T. S. McKay,
Normandie Farm,
Exeter.

September 16

Welfare of the Timorese

SIR, The reports of renewed heavy fighting in East Timor and the removal from power of Timor governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, have revealed the report of the Parliamentary delegation to East Timor for what it is — a superficial disgraceful document.

Superficial, because it conspicuously failed to report on Timorese attitudes and in so doing was unable to consider



the possibility of conflict on the scale currently occurring in East Timor. Disgraceful, because the delegation listened to only one side of the conflict and when presented with the opportunity to meet with Fretilin in one of their camps, failed to respond.

The spirited defence of the Parliamentary delegation's report in the Australian Financial Review editorial "East Timor and Australia" on September 8 reflects poorly on a respected Australian newspaper.

The editorial asserts: "The East Timor issue is a worthy one and we should be concerned with the welfare of the East Timorese", but clearly

believes the Timorese people's welfare will not be served if they hang on to any notions of self-determination.

Yet, if Australia does not uphold the principle of refusing to grant legitimacy to acts of armed aggression, what justification remains for Australia's position on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Australia continues to refuse recognition of the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union, even though this took place more than 40 years ago. Why should this fundamental principle be interpreted differently or overlooked when it applies closer to home?

Your editorial claims, as does the Parliamentary delegation in different words, that "hysterical opposition to the realities of East Timor is quite pointless", yet there is every reason to believe that Indonesia's increased expenditure in East Timor is a result of international scrutiny of conditions in the territory. The Parliamentary delegation's report itself notes that international pressure on Indonesia resulted in the Government releasing 10,000 political prisoners in December 1977 and the bulk of the remainder in 1978 and 1979.

Editorial writers and politicians may call views that differ from theirs "the continual outpourings of interested propagandists" and other colourful phrases, but the basic human right of self-determination is inalienable and is worth defending no matter what the economic consequences.

Decisions affecting the future of a people and a nation should not be taken without the facts of the situation and, particularly, the views of a people being fully ascertained.

It is no accident that cursory visits of selected observers are permitted whilst normal access to East Timor is still not allowed after eight years of Indonesian control.

RUSSELL ROLLASON,
Australian Council for Overseas Aid,
Canberra.

AFR
22/9/83

colony.

TIMOR DEBATE DELAY CALL

22/9/83

JAKARTA. — Portugal indicated it might ask United Nations to postpone this year's expected debate on Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and seek direct talks on issue with Jakarta, Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja said here.

Sinclair joins argument on East Timor takeover

By BRIAN HILL

THE Federal Opposition will push for closer ties with Indonesia and bipartisan recognition of its sovereignty over East Timor when Parliament resumes tomorrow.

The Opposition's spokesman on defence, Mr Ian Sinclair, said last night after visiting Jakarta there was "no longer any merit" in questioning Indonesia's sovereignty over the former Portuguese colony.

He said it was essential now that relations between Australia and Indonesia proceed "with the maximum level of harmony".

Mr Sinclair's remarks seem certain to exacerbate the tensions in the federal parliamentary Labor Party over what Australia's attitude should be to the Indonesian takeover of East Timor.

A recent parliamentary delegation to the island is due to table its report on its visit soon.

The delegation comprised three ALP members and two Liberals. On their return, one ALP delegate, the prominent left-winger Senator Gordon McIntosh, said his fellow delegates had ignored evidence that scores of Timorese had been captured and tortured by the Indonesians.

Senator McIntosh said he would oppose any move by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, to try to change Labor policy on East Timor.

Mr Hawke has said the findings of the delegation will be important to the Government when it decides which way Australia should vote in the United Nations on the question of self-determination for the East Timorese.

The leader of the delegation, former Labor federal minister Mr Bill Morrison, said on his return from Indonesia earlier this month that a viable, independent East Timor was not possible.

However, official Labor policy, as laid down in a resolution at the party's last national conference, is that the ALP "recognises the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self determination and independence, and condemns and rejects the Australian (Fraser) Government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor".

The resolution also commits the ALP to opposing "all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor".

AUSTRALIAN
22/8/83

Timor — Senator rebels

New trouble is likely to flare within the Federal ALP Caucus over the East Timor issue following the emergence of a split yesterday between members of the recent joint parliamentary delegation which toured the province.

Senator McIntosh, a Labor Senator who has been a long-time opponent of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor, decided yesterday that he would lodge a dissenting opinion from the other four members of the delegation.

The group of parliamentarians toured Indonesia and East Timor earlier this month, under the chairmanship of a former defence minister in the Whitlam Government, Mr Bill Morrison.

The rest of the delegation comprised two other members of the ALP, Senator McIntosh and Mr Manfred Cross, and two Opposition Members, Liberals Mr Don Dobie and Senator MacGibbon.

The five met intensively towards the end of last week to finalise a draft report, which was considered paragraph by paragraph. Mr Morrison said yesterday no amendments had been moved.

However, at a meeting yesterday Senator McIntosh said he had changed his mind about endorsing the thrust of the report.

Senator McIntosh said yesterday that he had agonised over the report at the weekend and decided that, despite amendments, he disagreed with the thrust of it.

"I worried ... that many people are looking to it though it were a panacea for all the problems in East Timor," he said.

The delegation's report could not purport to be this, he said.

— Deborah Snow

Timor illusion

SIR: Your editorial, "The Timor Barrier" (September 10), called the report of the Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor a "sound and honest document" and suggested that to disagree with it would either be "sheer political madness" or "dangerously moralistic".

The events in East Timor since the Australian delegation left on August 4 have shattered the illusion so carefully painted by the delegation led by Mr Bill Morrison, MP.

Within a week of the delegation leaving Timor about 15 Indonesian soldiers were killed and another 20 others severely wounded by Fretilin supporters. It is reliably reported that around 500 Hansips (Timorese militia working with the Indonesian Army) defected to Fretilin in early August taking their weapons with them. Also church sources have reported that 200 villagers were killed by Indonesian soldiers in retaliation for the killing of the 15 soldiers. Indonesia has not denied these reports.

There has been a substantial military build-up in East Timor and the subsequent outbreak of fighting has been confirmed by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar. Reports this week that the fighting has intensified and that the East Timor Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, has been stripped of his powers provided the final nails for the coffin of the Morrison report.

The Morrison report may honestly report the statistics provided by the Indonesian Government on the situation in East Timor, but it conspicuously fails to report on Timorese attitudes and aspirations. For an Australian parliamentary delegation to go on a fact-finding mission and then only seek and listen to facts provided by one side in the conflict is an utter disgrace.

The delegation's failure to take the opportunity to meet Fretilin, when Fretilin itself sought out the delegation and issued an invitation to visit one of its camps, was a dereliction of responsibility.

Your editorial suggested that those in the Australian community who refused to grant legitimacy to acts of armed aggression are somehow "born of white cultural and political isolationism". I don't know whom this is aimed at, but it clearly does not apply to the 56 non-government overseas aid organisations in membership of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. Each year they provide in excess of \$14 million to assist the people of Asia in their development programs.

To appear to suggest, as your editorial does, that the people of Indonesia are either unconcerned or unable to uphold such fundamental human rights as the right to self-determination reveals the kind of social attitude that has often formed the basis of deep and lasting international mistrust and antagonism. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not something agreed to by, and for, people who believe God is an Englishman (or vice versa); it is just what it says it is - a universal declaration of human rights - an ideal we should all seek to uphold, even if it is not to our economic advantage.

Russell Rollason,
Director,
Australian Council for Overseas Aid,
East Row,
Canberra.

September 20

Friday 23 September 1983

The anguish of East

EDITORIAL OPINION

Given the ferocity of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, this does not have the ring of an idle threat.

In Canberra on Monday, an Indonesian Embassy spokesman said that: "From the Indonesian military operation there has been some killing: we admit there was a reprisal and some casualties." The spokesman confirmed that one-third of East Timor had been put under military rule and that 3200 Indonesian troops with tanks and Hercules transport planes had arrived there. Given that Indonesia puts its total number of military personnel in East Timor at 9600 and the number of hard-core Fretilin at between 200 and 500, with 100 to 300 weapons, the build-up does seem out of proportion — even allowing for the old rule-of-thumb that the odds on the side of conventional forces in guerilla warfare should be 10 to one. But, to a great extent, the argument about the number of guns in Fretilin hands is beside the point. What counts is what is in the hearts and minds of the East Timorese. And of that, no real evidence is available.

At present, the Australian Government is playing matters cautiously. Mr Hayden has urged

cont next page

the Labor Party which recall that party policy supports "the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence". The majority report went on to lay the foundation for continuing Australian support for Indonesia at the United Nations during the annual debate on self-determination for East Timor. Indonesia, of course, regards the incorporation of East Timor into the republic of Indonesia as final and irreversible. The report said that a vote for self-determination — and against Indonesia — would diminish any role that Australia could play in East Timor and Indonesia as a whole.

With the news that the resolution will not come to the vote this year, it seems as if the Labor Party will avoid a serious internal row. It seems as if the rights and the fate of the East Timorese can conveniently be forgotten. Recently, however, there have been tragic reminders of the complexity and longevity of the East Timor problem. On 8 August, according to a senior Indonesian military source, about 30 former Fretilin members snatched weapons from a 16-man army construction garrison, killing or wounding most of them and fleeing to the hills. The Indonesian armed forces commander, General Benny Murdani, responded by threatening to wipe out the Fretilin guerillas if they refused to accept a Government amnesty offer. "This time, no more fooling around. We are going to hit them without mercy," the general said.

THE truth about East Timor has often been lost in a jungle of conflicting or self-serving statements, propaganda and disinformation. During its mission to East Timor, the Australian parliamentary delegation visited the village of Suai where they were told by the bupati (chief) that there was no need for an election on the question of East Timor's relation with Indonesia because "the people are already Indonesian and felt that they are so for a long time". The day before, at what the delegation's report describes as a chance meeting, its leader, Mr Morrison, had been told by a Fretilin soldier: "All the people, all the population of East Timor, have made up their minds. Even in this village, controlled by Indonesian forces, everybody has made up his mind; that is, they have their goal which is total independence."

Who was right? This question — the question which is, after all, at the heart of the East Timor matter — was not adequately addressed by the delegation, which returned to Australia to make a majority report concluding that opposition to Indonesian annexation of East Timor would be futile and damaging to relations between the two countries. This finding undoubtedly brought a sigh of relief from the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, whose aim, in Mr Hawke's words, is to "place our relations with Indonesia on a friendly and constructive basis". It brought the sounds of outrage from some sections of

Timor

the Indonesian Government to show restraint "so that the process of peaceful contact can be given a chance to succeed". What Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden must now consider is whether their desired policy on East Timor suits what is known of the circumstances in the territory and what could emerge if more were known about the wishes of the people. The pragmatic arguments for acquiescence in the Indonesian incorporation of East Timor are simple and well rehearsed: for a start it is a fait accompli; it is good for Indonesia and for the region because it has tidied up a quaint colonial relic which could have become a source of instability; and what is good for Indonesia is good for Australia (in the words of the Opposition spokesman for defence, Mr Sinclair: "Indonesia, with its population of 155 million and its vast mineral resources, will be as important to Australia in the next 20 years as Japan has been in the past 20"). The humanitarian corollary is that it is also good for the East Timorese. They are better off than they were under the Portuguese and the Indonesian Government is allocating a disproportionate amount of funds for the development of East Timor. But here we are confronted once more with the basic question: do the East Timorese who, it should be remembered, were still fighting the Portuguese colonisers in 1912, want to be incorporated in Indonesia?

The Federal parliamentary delegation said in

its report: "The Indonesians certainly regard the Timor question as a critical test of Australian-Indonesian relations indicating that if differences persist the whole relationship will suffer." But, for one thing, the East Timorese have suffered massively over the past seven years and at least some of them continue to suffer. For another, the Timor question is a critical test of Australia's foreign policy. This is not to raise a shout of "pragmatism or principle". Nothing in life or international affairs is quite as simple as that. There is an element of pragmatism, for instance, in protesting on principle against aggression which does not impinge directly on national interest. Possible aggressors should be aware that aggression is seen to be disapproved of.

It is highly desirable that Australia has a good working relationship with Indonesia. (Trading relations, of course, leap over all sorts of ideological barriers.) Australia does not have the capacity to force Indonesia to allow the East Timorese an act of self-determination. But it does have the right to say to Indonesia: "We will trade with you and talk with you. We will be responsible neighbors. But we should not have been asked to recognise the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia before the East Timorese had had the opportunity to say freely that that was what they wanted." We cannot reverse history. But we can — and do — deplore the course it has taken.

We have the numbers if postponement reversed, Mochtar says

Caribbean Times 23.9.83

Indonesia foresees win if UN votes on Timor

Recommendation to defer debate

JAKARTA, Thursday (AAP). — Indonesia was set to win a UN vote on East Timor if the General Assembly overturned yesterday's decision to postpone debate on the issue until next year, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said in Jakarta today.

The UN General Committee adopted yesterday without dissent a Norwegian proposal to postpone debate on East Timorese independence until the 39th General Assembly session next year.

Confirming the postponement, Western diplomats in Jakarta said this meant there would be no Timor resolution or debate on the UN agenda this session, unless the committee's decision was overturned in the assembly's plenary session.

However this was extremely unlikely, the diplomats said.

In a cautious reaction, Dr Mochtar said that although the general committee sets the agenda, its decisions must be ratified by the assembly.

"In fact we would be quite ready to have a vote, because on the numbers we have we believe we would win it," he told a news conference.

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UNITED NATIONS, Thursday (AAP-Reuters). — The United Nations General Assembly main political committee has agreed to defer debate until next year on the former Portuguese colony of East Timor which is now incorporated into Indonesia.

The recommendation to defer debate was made yesterday by Norway's Mr Tom Vraalsen, the president of the committee.

Mr Vraalsen noted that the Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had not considered it ap-

propriate to debate until next year's assembly.

The conflicts in Afghanistan, where the Soviet Union has more than 100,000 troops, and Kampuchea, invaded by Vietnam almost five years ago, were recommended for debate at the General Assembly's 13-month session that opened yesterday.

The Anglo-Argentine dispute over the Falklands, which led to an 11-week war last year, was also put on the steering committee's 141-item proposed agenda together with such perennial

topics as the Middle East, Namibia and a host of disarmament issues.

In a rare display of unity, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France all opposed the inclusion of an item on Antarctica, proposed by Malaysia and Antigua-Barbuda. The issue was not pressed to a vote in the 29-member committee.

The big powers are all parties to the 1959 Antarctica Treaty, which they say demilitarises the continent and serves the international community well, and they frown on attempts to change it.

UN General Committee would have needed Portugal's blessing to postpone the East Timor debate, which had been expected next month.

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Indonesia incorporated East Timor as its 27th province in 1976 after intervening militarily in a bloody civil war that followed Portugal's attempt to decolonise the territory.

The assembly passed the pro-independence resolution last year by a narrow 50 votes to 46, with Australia backing Jakarta against it and 50 countries, including Norway, abstaining.

This year Dr Mochtar has lobbied extensively to defeat the expected

debate in the UN session which opened on Tuesday.

He has frequently reiterated Indonesia's view that East Timor's incorporation is irreversible, and his Government sees no reason to discuss internal matters with other governments.

Australia was expected to welcome the postponement, as it relieved the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, of having to decide his Government's vote this year, diplomats said.

To continue the former Fraser Government's support for Indonesia would alienate the Labor Party's left wing and upset voters committed to independence for the 600,000 East Timorese.

To vote for the resolution against Indonesia would seriously damage Australian-Indonesia relations and possibly provoke diplomatic and commercial retaliation by Jakarta, said one senior diplomat.

The diplomat said the UN postponement allowed Indonesia to continue its military campaign against the Fretilin independence movement.

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Timor decision takes heat off Hawke. —

S.M.H. 23 SEPT 1983

Timor illusion

SIR: Your editorial, "The Timor Barrier" (September 10), called the report of the Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor a "sound and honest document" and suggested that to disagree with it would either be "sheer political madness" or "dangerously moralistic".

The events in East Timor since the Australian delegation left on August 4 have shattered the illusion so carefully painted by the delegation led by Mr Bill Morrison, MP.

Within a week of the delegation leaving Timor about 15 Indonesian soldiers were killed and another 20 others severely wounded by Fretilin supporters. It is reliably reported that around 500 Hansips (Timorese militia working with the Indonesian Army) defected to Fretilin in early August taking their weapons with them. Also church sources have reported that 200 villagers were killed by Indonesian soldiers in retaliation for the killing of the 15 soldiers. Indonesia has not denied these reports.

There has been a substantial military build-up in East Timor and the subsequent outbreak of fighting has been confirmed by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar. Reports this week that the fighting has intensified and that the East Timor Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, has been stripped of his powers provided the final nails for the coffin of the Morrison report.

The Morrison report may honestly report the statistics provided by the Indonesian Government on the situation in East Timor, but it conspicuously fails to report on Timorese attitudes and aspirations. For an Australian parliamentary delegation to go on a fact-finding mission and then only seek and listen to facts provided by one side in the conflict is an utter disgrace.

The delegation's failure to take the opportunity to meet Fretilin, when Fretilin itself sought out the delegation and issued an invitation to visit one of its camps, was a dereliction of responsibility.

Your editorial suggested that those in the Australian community who refused to grant legitimacy to acts of armed aggression are somehow "born of white cultural and political isolationism". I don't know whom this is aimed at, but it clearly does not apply to the 56 non-government overseas aid organisations in membership of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. Each year they provide in excess of \$14 million to assist the people of Asia in their development programs.

To appear to suggest, as your editorial does, that the people of Indonesia are either unconcerned or unable to uphold such fundamental human rights as the right to self-determination reveals the kind of social attitude that has often formed the basis of deep and lasting international mistrust and antagonism. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not something agreed to by, and for, people who believe God is an Englishman (or vice versa); it is just what it says it is — a universal declaration of human rights — an ideal we should all seek to uphold, even if it is not to our economic advantage.

Russell Rollason,

Director,

Australian Council for Overseas Aid,

East Row,

September 20  Canberra.

Timor decision takes heat off Hawke

23/9
C. Jones

The decision by the United Nations General Committee to defer consideration of the East Timor question until 1984 has taken the political heat off the Hawke Government.

Indonesia had made it clear to Australia that how it voted on the UN resolution, calling for self-determination for the East Timorese, was crucial to future good relations.

At the same time any attempt to alter ALP policy and vote against the resolution would have led to unseemly feuding in caucus and bitter resentment in the party's left wing.

The Labor platform commits the Government to recognising the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence.

Both Mr Hawke and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, despite pressure from the Indonesians, have said Australia will not make a decision on the vote until closer to the time.

The UN General Committee's decision means that the Government can now put off that decision even longer, possibly indefinitely.

Diplomatic sources said that, unless there was a dramatic change in events, the decision opened the way for the vexed question quietly to disappear.

The Attorney-General, Senator Evans, reported the decision to Parliament yesterday, pointing out that Australia was not a member of the UN committee.

The decision accorded with a note issued by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Perez de Cuellar, on August 19 which referred to recent developments regarding East Timor.

Portugal is reviewing its policy on East

Timor, and is sending a special envoy, Mr Quieros de Barros, to Australia for talks with Mr Hayden.

Mr Quieros de Barros said before his departure for New York on Wednesday that because the problem had been around for so long with no solution in view his Government wanted to see it solved.

But at the same time, he said, Portugal remained concerned at reports of fighting and continued suffering in East Timor.

Senator Evans said yesterday that the Australian Government had made its concern at the build-up of Indonesian forces in East Timor known at the highest levels of the Indonesian Government.

"The Government believes that, despite Fretilin breaking the unofficial ceasefire which had been in operation in East Timor since March, the process of peaceful contact should be resumed and given a second chance to succeed," he said.

Indonesia foresees win if UN votes on Timor.

— Page 5

sanction. Since when did brutal regimes let a little criticism impair their trading acumen?

Western democratic values (our values) are contrasted with those of our brutal neighbours. We must learn to live as an island of humanity and caring amidst a regional sea of authoritarianism and violence. This is the editorial's contrast that calls for acceptance of what has happened in Timor which includes

The Age' Editorial
24/9 - cont'd...

its report. "The Indonesians certainly regard the Timor question as a critical test of Australian-Indonesian relations indicating that if differences persist the whole relationship will suffer." But, for one thing, the East Timorese have suffered massively over the past seven years and at least some of them continue to suffer. For another, the Timor question is a critical test of Australia's foreign policy. This is not to raise a shout of "pragmatism or principle". Nothing in life or international affairs is quite as simple as that. There is an element of pragmatism, for instance, in protesting on principle against aggression which does not impinge directly on national interest. Possible aggressors should be aware that aggression is seen to be disapproved of.

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'Age' 23/9

Indons would win if UN held Timor vote now: Mochtar

JAKARTA, 22 Sept. — Indonesia was set to win a UN vote on East Timor if the General Assembly overturned yesterday's decision to postpone debate on the issue until next year, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said yesterday.

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Norwegian proposal to postpone debate on East Timorese independence until the 39th General Assembly session next year.

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Dr Mochtar, reacting cautiously, said although the general committee sets the agenda, its decisions must be ratified by the assembly.

"In fact we would be quite ready to have a vote, because on the numbers we have we believe we would win it," he told a news conference.

A senior diplomat here said the UN General Committee would have needed Portugal's blessing to postpone the East Timor debate.

Portugal, which still claims administrative sovereignty over its former colony, has annually promoted a resolution calling for East Timor's self-sovereignty and withdrawal of Indonesian troops.

The assembly last year passed the pro-independence resolution by a narrow 50 votes to 46, with Australia backing Jakarta against it and 50 countries, including Norway, abstaining.

In CANBERRA, the Australian Government has told the Indonesian Government "at the highest levels" of Australia's concern at the recent Indonesian troop build-up in East Timor, the Attorney-General, Senator Evans, said yesterday.

—AAP

voys fear g attack 'Age' Fretilin 24/9

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SMH 23/9/83

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Russell Rollason,
Director,
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Canberra.

September 20

Timor vote, giving PM a year to sway Left

By MARSALI MACKINNON

THE fight between the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Labor Party's Left over East Timor fizzled yesterday when the United Nations decided to defer debate on its independence for another year.

The UN General Committee, which sets the agenda for each UN General Assembly, said the debate had been put off because recent reports of fighting in the former Portuguese colony made it inappropriate to hold a vote on the issue this year.

The decision was received with relief by both the Labor Left and the moderates, who side with Mr Hawke and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, in seeing Indonesia's takeover of East Timor as a fait accompli.

"It takes all the heat out of the debate," said a leading Labor left-winger, Mr Ken Fry.

"It also resolves a dilemma for Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden, who now don't have to decide which way Australia should vote on the issue."

East Timor has been a thorn in the side of the Labor Government, and has split the party sharply between the Left and the moderate and right-wing factions.

The ALP's policy recognises "the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence" and "condemns and rejects the (former) Australian government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor".

Since he travelled to Indonesia earlier this year, Mr Hawke has been moving Australia closer to Indonesia on the issue - a move that has caused many bitter brawls within the Labor Caucus.

The Government was examining whether to vote to support Indonesia in the predicted UN debate this year, or whether to conform to party policy and either oppose Indonesia or abstain.

The announcement by the UN General Committee followed a letter put out by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, on August 19, in which he said he did not consider an East Timor debate appropriate this year.

Mr Perez de Cuellar is attempting to resolve the conflict between Indonesia and Portugal, which is still the legal administrator of East Timor, over the future of the island.

He has had little success - the Indonesian Government has resisted all approaches by Portugal to hold talks, saying it is now "a domestic Indonesian affair".

Mr Perez de Cuellar is also in the process of preparing a report to the UN on the prospects of self-determination for East Timor, which is now expected to be tabled at the 1984 UN General Assembly.

Mr Hayden left yesterday on a trip which will take him to the UN on Tuesday, September 27, and was unavailable for comment.

C. TIMES 23/9/83

WORLD NEWS

We have the numbers if postponement reversed, Mochtar says

Indonesia foresees win if UN votes on Timor

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However this was extremely unlikely, the diplomats said.

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touring South Pacific nations and dispatching envoys to Africa and Latin America.

Dr Mochtar, speaking before flying to the UN in New York today, said he learnt of the general committee's decision only this morning.

Dr Mochtar denied that Indonesia and Portugal had discussed the issue, but said Portugal had indicated it might ask for postponement of the East Timor

debate in the UN session which opened on Tuesday.

He has frequently reiterated Indonesia's view that East Timor's incorporation is irreversible, and his Government sees no reason to discuss internal matters with other governments.

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Timor decision takes heat off Hawke. — Page 11.

Malicious Timor charge

YOUR report (16/9) from Peter Wilsher of The Sunday Times relating to conditions in East Timor is very much at variance with other reports from impeccably reliable sources who have actually visited the area, such as Peter Hastings, Gough Whitlam and more recently the Australian parliamentary delegation. The MPs and accompanying reporters were granted unhindered and unlimited access to the whole of East Timor.

Wilsher admits that "details" of Indonesian methods are hard to come by." but nevertheless alleges that they have been ruthless in the extreme. He chooses to ignore the above reliable eyewitness findings of adequate nutrition and almost complete absence of Fretilin activity. A small Fretilin party did meet the parliamentary delegation and was permitted to put their views to the delegation without interference from Indonesian authorities.

Wilsher's comparison of Indonesian methods with the slaughter of children in the Central African Empire is baseless and malicious.

He is anxious that the matter be kept alive in the U.N., and states that it is "too early" to put East Timor behind us. It is curious that he does not likewise advocate U.N. condemnation of India for invading Goa, another former Portuguese colony, with no such excuse as civil war, and nor does he advocate self-determination for the Goanese, who as every P&O traveller will know, are not ethnic Indians, although the East Timorese are largely ethnic Indonesians.

I am at a loss to understand Wilsher's double standards and I cannot understand your newspaper's policy in publishing such material when there is so much reliable eyewitness evidence to prove it false.

H. D. O'BRIEN
Elizabeth Bay, NSW

AUSTIN

23/9/83

Indonesian inquiry on Ivanov link

JAKARTA, Thursday (AAP). — Indonesian intelligence officers are investigating the case of an Indonesian cypher clerk recalled from Canberra because of his association with alleged Soviet spy Mr Valeriy Ivanov.

The association between the clerk and Mr Ivanov, who was expelled from Australia this year, was disclosed in July by the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, at the Royal commission into Australia's security and intelligence agencies.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, told a parliamentary committee in Jakarta yesterday that the clerk was Mr Sri Koncoro Gutomo, a junior attache at Indonesia's embassy in Canberra.

His tasks had included sending morse code and decoding signals between the embassy and his Government in Jakarta.

Mr Ivanov, a Soviet Embassy first secretary, had approached Mr Gutomo when Mr Gutomo had fallen into financial difficulties and had been unable to repay bank overdrafts.

He had been recalled to Jakarta to prevent security leaks.

Dr Mochtar did not say whether a security breach had taken place.

He did not say when Mr Gutomo was recalled, but officials in Jakarta understand it was late last year.

The case was still being investigated by the Indonesian intelligence co-ordinating agency, Bakin, and the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

AGF 20/9/83

Indonesia confirms army rule on Timor

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — The Indonesian Government yesterday confirmed that one-third of East Timor had been put under military rule.

A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra said yesterday the area was centred in Viqueque, near the southern coast of East Timor.

He said it was "admitted" that Fretilin had attacked Indonesian troops and their East Timorese "hansips" (militia) involved in road building. He said 15 people had been killed in the attack on 8 August.

"From the Indonesian military operation there has been some killing: we admit there was a reprisal and some casualties," he said.

He said reports that 200 East Timorese had been killed were "very exaggerated". But he could not say how many had been killed in the military operation around Viqueque.

'The Age' reported on Saturday that Dutch National Radio had claimed that a state of emergency had been declared and that the East Timorese Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, had been removed. Other sources claimed that Fretilin had attacked the military section of Dili airport.

The spokesman in Canberra said that Governor Carrascalao was still in power in areas not under military rule and that he would be the host for a visit to Dili on Wednesday by the West Samoan Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Warning

The spokesman said the commander-in-chief of the Indonesian armed forces, General Benny Murdani, had warned several times in August of military action against Fretilin, the East Timor independence movement, unless it surrendered by the end of the month.

"Up to 31 August there was no response, so from 1 September we commenced military operations. It was not a big operation, only around Viqueque," he said. "At the same time there was a routine replacement of military forces in East Timor."

He said about 3200 troops in four battalions, including a battalion of commandos, had arrived in East Timor with tanks and Hercules troop transport planes. He denied that combat planes were operating in East Timor.

Another report obtained by 'The Age' said that people in Java have reported extensive troop movements to East Timor.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and a spokesman for the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, both said yesterday they could not provide details or comments on recent developments in East Timor.

About 18 East Timorese refugees who were to have arrived in Australia in mid-August under the family reunion program have not arrived.

Fighting in East Timor is believed to have caused the delay.

PAGE 9: Indons court another Timor vote.

Envoys fear big attack 'Age' on Fretilin 24/9

JAKARTA, 23 September. — The postponement of a UN debate on Indonesian rule in East Timor could encourage an all-out military assault on Fretilin rebels, senior diplomats here believe.

They said a debate during the UN's present session would have fostered military caution in East Timor by spotlighting reports of skirmishes, troop build-ups and civilian deaths from East Timorese arriving in Portugal.

But this week's decision by the General Committee, which sets the agenda, to defer debate for a year had removed the international spotlight from the army's present operations against Fretilin, they said.

This could encourage a military sweep of the territory until the last rebel was killed or captured.

Until now, tight military security had left Jakarta-based journalists and diplomats guessing at the army's ultimate intentions, the diplomats said.

"Now that Indonesia has a year to do what it likes on the ground in East Timor, it's not hard to guess what their intentions are," one said. "The only first-hand accounts of what's really happening in East Timor is from East Timorese who've joined their families in Portugal, and if those accounts are true, Fretilin's days could be numbered," he said.

In LISBON, the Portuguese Parliament yesterday condemned Indonesia for allegedly executing between 200 and 300 people in the south-east Timorese town of Viqueque on 21 and 22 August.

It was near Viqueque that Fretilin staged a series of attacks from 8 August in which at least 15 Indonesian soldiers died. The Indonesian military has confirmed the 8 August incident, subsequent "skirmishes", a "strengthening" of the territory's 3000 permanent troops, and the replacement of the East Timor Military Chief, Colonel Purwanto.

—AAP.

Timor debate deferred

UNITED NATIONS, Saturday (AAP—Reuter). — The UN General Assembly decided yesterday to defer any debate on the question of East Timor until its next session, opening in September 1984.

The decision was taken as the 158-nation Assembly acted on recommendations of its 29-member steering committee, which prepared the agenda for the Assembly session that opened last Tuesday.

This means the question of East Timor, a former Portuguese territory incorporated into Indonesia in 1976, will be included in the provisional agenda for next year's Assembly.

The Assembly had earlier ap-

proved a 141-item agenda for its three-month session, including the topics of Afghanistan and Antarctica.

Afghanistan and the Soviet Union opposed the inclusion of an item on the situation in Afghanistan but the issue was not pressed to a vote.

The Assembly also decided without a vote to include a new item on the question of Antarctica, despite objections from Australia, which was speaking on behalf of parties to the 1961 Antarctic Treaty.

□ The newly independent Caribbean nation of Saint Christopher and Nevis was admitted to the UN today as its 158th member.

AGE 2619

Indons hail Timor deferral

NEW YORK, 25 Sept. — The UN General Assembly, acting on the recommendations of its steering committee, has decided without a vote or discussion to defer any debate on the question of East Timor until its next session, opening in September, 1984.

In JAKARTA, an editorial of the English-language 'Indonesia Times' welcomed the postponement as a "success" for Indonesia and a "blessing" for Australia.

The daily, which usually reflects official thinking, said that the postponement would give Indonesia time to mobilise more pro-Indonesian votes.

AAP-Reuter-AFP

Indonesia takes tough line

From IAN DAVIS

'Age' 26/9

CANBERRA. — The recall of the Indonesian military commander in East Timor is believed to signal the adoption of a much tougher military policy by Indonesia in East Timor.

The Indonesian military commander in East Timor, Colonel Purwanto was withdrawn at the end of August following an attack by "former" Fretilin villagers near the town of Viqueque, which according to Indonesian authorities resulted in the death of 15 Indonesian soldiers and East Timorese militia.

Colonel Purwanto had advocated a conciliatory policy towards the East Timor independence Fretilin movement, while the powerful commander-in-chief of the Indonesian armed forces, General Benny Murdani, wanted a much tougher policy. He led the invasion of Timor in 1975.

The official Indonesian explanation of Colonel Purwanto's removal as East Timor commander is that his "negligence" permitted the deaths of the 15 soldiers on 8 August.

Colonel Purwanto was inter-

viewed by the recent Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor. It appears that it was his comments which led the leader of the delegation, Mr Bill Morrison, to tell Parliament earlier this month that Indonesia was concentrating on a "hearts and minds" campaign in East Timor.

Mr Morrison said: "The Indonesians certainly have the resources to defeat the Fretilin groups if they so wished. It seemed to us, as a delegation, that they were anxious to prevent further loss of life."

Timor denial

JAKARTA, 26 Sept. — The International Red Cross committee representative to Indonesia today denied its workers had been refused access to the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

However, the IRCC delegate Pierre Guberan conceded that Indonesian authorities had significantly restricted the workers' freedom of movement in East Timor.

He was reacting to reports from Canberra in which an IRCC official said Jakarta-based IRCC workers had been banned from East Timor. —AAP-AFP.

AGE 27/9/87

AGE 27/9/83

IN BRIEF

Hayden invites Pope to visit

ROME 26 Sept. — The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, today formally invited John Paul II to visit Australia. He extended the invitation during a private audience with the Pope at the Vatican.

Mr Hayden said afterwards that the principal purpose of the meeting had been to discuss a wide range of international issues.

It is unlikely that the Pope will visit Australia before 1985.

Indons ban Red Cross visits to Timor

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — The Indonesian Government has refused to allow representatives of the International Red Cross to make inspection visits to East Timor.

The ban cuts off one of only two international agencies which have an opportunity to monitor the situation in East Timor. The other is UNICEF.

A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra last night confirmed the ban but said it "was for their own safety".

The ban will heighten international concern over Indonesia's recently renewed military offensive in East Timor.

The International Red Cross in Geneva has not announced the ban, apparently because it believes that if it publicises the Indonesian action it may harm the chances of resuming visits.

The ban has been made public only after it leaked out to Australian aid agencies and was confirmed with the International Red Cross by the Australian Red Cross.

Ms Noreen Minogue, deputy secretary-general of the Australian Red Cross said yesterday: "We are very disappointed that authorisations (for visits) have not been forthcoming."

The Red Cross does not have officials permanently based in East Timor, but representatives regularly visit the island from Jakarta to monitor its own programs. These visits are mainly to prisoners in Camarco prison in Dili and for co-ordinating East Timorese refugees living in Timor who are leaving to join relatives overseas.

The Red Cross has a reputation for refusing to comment publicly on developments in East Timor, but its regular visits give it some information about the human rights situation there.

The Red Cross has been allowed to continue its visits to Atauro Island off Dili, where some political prisoners and their families have been held in camps. The recent fighting has not extended to the island.

The Red Cross said there have been no visits since May, but the spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy said the ban was only imposed after the present military offensive was launched at the end of August.

Few details of the action are known, but the Portuguese National Parliament last week passed a resolution expressing concern that about 300 East Timorese had been killed in a single incident near the town of Viqueque.

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid — the co-ordinating body for private aid agencies — said that Catholic Church sources in East Timor have said 10,000 Indonesian troops are engaged in the offensive. The Indonesian Government has acknowledged only 3000 troops.

Indons hail Timor deferral

NEW YORK, 25 Sept. — The UN General Assembly, acting on the recommendations of its steering committee, has decided without a vote or discussion to defer any debate on the question of East Timor until its next session, opening in September, 1984.

In JAKARTA, an editorial of the English-language 'Indonesia Times' welcomed the postponement as a "success" for Indonesia and a "blessing" for Australia.

The daily, which usually reflects official thinking, said that the postponement would give Indonesia time to mobilise more pro-Indonesian votes.

AAP-Reuter-AFP

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — The recall of the Indonesian military commander in East Timor is believed to signal the adoption of a much tougher military policy by Indonesia in East Timor.

The Indonesian military commander in East Timor, Colonel Purwanto was withdrawn at the end of August following an attack by "former" Fretilin villagers near the town of Viqueque, which according to Indonesian authorities resulted in the death of 15 Indonesian soldiers and East Timorese militia.

Colonel Purwanto had advocated a conciliatory policy towards the East Timor independence Fretilin movement, while the powerful commander-in-chief of the Indonesian armed forces, General Benny Murdani, wanted a much tougher policy. He led the invasion of Timor in 1975.

The official Indonesian explanation of Colonel Purwanto's removal as East Timor commander is that his "negligence" permitted the deaths of the 15 soldiers on 8 August. Colonel Purwanto was interviewed by the recent Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor. It appears that it was his comments which led the leader of the delegation, Mr Bill Morrison, to tell Parliament earlier this month that Indonesia was concentrating on a "hearts and minds" campaign in East Timor.

Mr Morrison said: "The Indonesians certainly have the resources to defeat the Fretilin groups if they so wished. It seemed to us, as a delegation, that they were anxious to prevent further loss of life."

The newly elected chairman of the council, Mr John Birch, said the agency denounced the offensive and "calls on the Australian Government to do all it can to see this offensive is called off and that talks between Fretilin and Indonesia are resumed as a priority".

Western Samoa rethinks

THE United Nations' postponement of a debate on Indonesia's annexation of East Timor had allowed Western Samoa to reassess its neutral stance on the issue, Western Samoan Foreign Minister Lauofo Meti said yesterday in Jakarta.

Asked at the close of his 11-day Indonesia tour what position his country might take, he said: "A lot of things can happen between now and the next General Assembly meeting, but this gives us more time to crystalise our thinking."

In reassessing his country's

Asian report

position he had been primarily interested in East Timor's economic development, particularly in hospitals, housing and farming, Mr Meti said.

Mr Meti is the first outsider to visit East Timor since scattered fighting broke out on August 8 between Indonesian troops and Fretilin, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor. He said he was not particularly aware of a security problem in the territory.

— AAP-Reuter

CHART Digital

neutral sta

Hayden to



WORLD WIDE



PORTUGUESE BID FOR NEW CONTACT OVER TIMOR

NEW YORK, Thurs.— Australia is in the middle of a fresh controversy over the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, has offered to act as an intermediary in efforts by the Portuguese Government to initiate negotiations with Indonesia.

Mr Hayden denies he has been asked to act as mediator or to participate in such talks, but he disclosed today he offered to pass messages between the two countries' representatives.

Mr Hayden today met Portugal's Foreign Minister, Dr Gama, and is due to meet Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, tomorrow.

Dr Gama told Mr Hayden that Portugal wants to discuss the future of East Timor with Indonesia in the hope of persuading Indonesia to allow the Timorese people to decide their own future.

"The Portuguese Foreign Minister has put to us a proposition whereby there is some sort of dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia, aimed at having some process put in place whereby an expression of opinion was established on the part of the East Timorese people," Mr Hayden said.

"I pointed out I would pass it on, but without any confidence of success,



• The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, chats with his Portuguese counterpart, Dr Jaime Gama, at the United Nations.

because it was similar to a proposition I put to the Indonesians earlier this year in an exploratory way, and which they rejected out of hand."

Mr Hayden said neither Portugal nor Indonesia had asked Australia to participate in any talks.

"I offered to convey that suggestion (Portugal's desire for negotiations) but they didn't ask me to go beyond that," he explained.

The Hawke Government has expressed its grave concern that there has not been a properly conducted, internationally supervised act

of self-determination by the Timorese people.

Indonesia claims there has and that the Timorese chose to become part of Indonesia.

That is the issue which is still under review in the United Nations.

Portugal's new Government asked for the subject not to be listed on the

UN agenda this year because it wanted to see whether negotiations with Indonesia would help resolve the issue outside the emotional forum created at the UN.

Australia has sided with Indonesia since 1976 in opposing moves in the UN to force the question of decolonisation of East Timor.

neutral stand

Hayden to act as 'feeler' on Timor

NEW YORK, Thursday (AAP). — The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, has offered to act as an intermediary in efforts by the Portuguese Government to open negotiations with Indonesia.

He denies he has been asked to act as mediator or to participate in such talks, but disclosed today that he had offered to pass messages between the two countries' representatives.

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"... Dr Gama has put to us a proposition whereby there is some sort of dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia, aimed at having some sort of process put in place, whereby an expression of opinion was established on the part of the East Timorese people," Mr Hayden said.

"I pointed out I would pass it on, but without any confidence of success, because it was similar to a proposition I put to the Indonesians earlier this year in a sort of exploratory way, and which they rejected out of hand."

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CINCINNATI TIMES

Hayden faces a new Timor row

FRETILIN FACING SURRENDER OR DEATH

N.T. News From LEIGH MACKAY 17/10/83

JAKARTA. - The East Timorese independence group Fretilin has lost its chance for a peaceful compromise with Indonesia and must now surrender or face death, the territory's Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, said here.

He said he had failed in his campaign to win the hearts and minds of Fretilin, which had fought a sporadic guerilla war since Indonesia annexed the territory in 1976.

Fretilin had signalled rejected of his peace overtures by ending a six-month unofficial ceasefire with an attack on August 8 at Cararas, north of Viqueque in the south-east, in which 15 members of an Indonesian army engineering unit and several civilians were killed, he said.

"The only solution is a military solution now. That does not mean we have to kill everybody, but they have to surrender.

"The amnesty offer is still open. The army is prepared to deal with Fretilin if they come down. But if not, they are also prepared to fight them to the death," Governor Carrascalao said.

"My campaign is finished. Trust in Fretilin is completely dead."

Permanent

He said he had called in the military after the Cararas attack to protect villages. Most settlements in Viqueque and Baucau districts where Fretilin were concentrated, were under armed guard while troops hunted the 200-odd guerillas in the hills.

Governor Carrascalao said that from 1000 to 4000 troops, mainly commandos had joined the four battalions of about 3200 men permanently stationed in East Timor, but he denied a heavy arms build-up.

"I believe in two or three month everything will be normal again, but to come normal, we have to finish them in the jungle or make them come down," he said.

He said the new policy of protecting villagers rather than evacuating them to safe areas would maintain normal economic life and deny food and material support to Fretilin.

Fretilin claims 200 soldiers killed

N.T. NEWS 20/11/84

He said since the resumption of hostilities Fretilin had killed 10 to 20 civilians, including a boy, 13, executed in an attempt to intimidate villagers, and burned down at least five settlements and their crops.

He could not say how many Fretilin or soldiers had died but believed the numbers were very small.

He said his peace initiative launched at talks with Fretilin leader Mr Jose Gusmao at two meetings in March had been "well accepted" by Indonesian authorities, but not by many East Timorese who had suffered from Fretilin's activities since the 1975 civil war.

At a further meeting with Gusmao on May 27 the Fretilin leader had favored acceptance of amnesty, but wished to check with his central committee and promised an answer by June 27.

Commander-in-chief of the Indonesian forces, General Benny Murdani, was recently reported to have admitted that resistance had spread right across the island. He launched a new appeal last December for Fretilin forces to surrender and promised them fair treatment.

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Dialogue

"The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr Gama, has put to us a proposition whereby there is some sort of dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia, aimed at having some sort of process put in place, whereby an expression of opinion was

"Their answer was the attack at Cararas. I believe they realised it would be difficult for me to give them protection from the people. Some of them will fight until death, because they believe they have nothing to gain by surrendering," he said.

He said Fretilin's campaign was partly motivated by disappointment that the Australian parliamentary delegation which toured East Timor in late July had reported favorably on the status duo.

Fretilin was also intent on a display of strength before the annual United Nations vote on East Timorese independence, which had been expected this month but is now postponed until next General Assembly.

N.T. News From ANDREW KRUGER 30/9/83

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Disclosed

Last year Indonesia came within four votes of defeating the pro-Timorese group.

Mr Hayden disclosed that the Labor parliamentary Caucus had not made a decision on how Australia should vote this year because it was not clear at the time whether the issue would be listed.

He said he was prepared to fly back to Canberra urgently should the need arise for a Caucus decision.